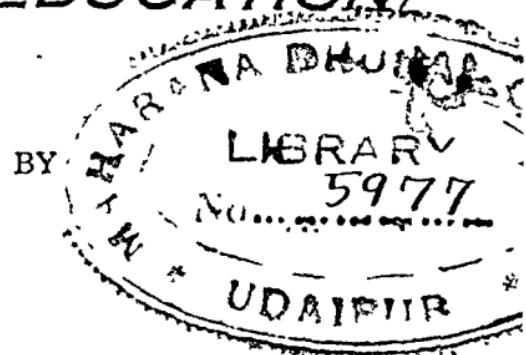


**A HISTORY
OF
EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB**

Vol. I

(PRIMARY EDUCATION)



SANA ULLAH KHAN, M. A.,

With a Foreword

BY

J. E. PARKINSON, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

LAHORE:

RAI SAHIB M. GULAB SINGH & SONS.

1932.

By Permission

DEDICATED

TO

R. SANDERSON, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.,

Director of Public Instruction, Punjab,

*for the keen interest he evinces in the cause of
education.*

PREFACE.

It is unnecessary to explain the difficulties with which a writer on the history of Education in the Punjab is faced owing to the paucity of material about the early days of the pre-British period and even up till the days of the Hon'ble Courts Despatch of July, 1854, which determined the British Educational Policy in India and subsequently in the Province. It was the year* 1856-57 that the Punjab Education Department published its first Annual Report which may rightly be said to be the only source of our information regarding the working of the Department in this Province; although in the Punjab Administration Reports of 1851-52 and 1852-53, mention was made of elaborate plans for the introduction of popular education in the Province. No record before 1856 is available to quote the figures and show the progress of primary education in the Punjab since the Province was annexed to the British territory only in 1849. The various systems in vogue before the annexation have also been discussed in the following pages. Even after 1856 there are no records available except the Punjab Educational Reports out of which the writer may find necessary material to raise the structure of his work. Then sifting out of

* On the 8th January, 1856, Mr Arnold was appointed the first Director of Public Instruction, *tide* Annual Report of the Department, 1856-57.

'the requisite information from the confused mass of whatever scanty material exists entails a huge preliminary labour.

In the following chapters an effort has been made to trace out the history of the aims, methods and results of Primary education in the Punjab since the advent of the British Government and since the time the record is available. Analysing the history of primary education in this Province, the writer divides the subject under the Heads—Males and Females, English and Vernacular. As the majority of the Primary Schools were at first boys' schools in the urban areas and were then gradually transferred to the rural ones, called 'Village Schools', so the writer devotes most of his attention to that special class—boys of rural primary schools—with which Primary education is mostly concerned, since these village Primary Schools have become synonymous with rural or mass education, which is receiving the attention of the Punjab Education Department these days of rural uplift. Only passing references are made about the various sub-heads of primary education.*

The facts stated here in this book are drawn mainly from the study of a selection of educational literature, official records as shown in the

* Then again it has got various sub-heads :—

(1) Strength and general development.
 (2) Curriculum. (3) School buildings. (4) Teacher.

Bibliography attached, and last but not least the personal observations and experience of the writer himself, who has had the privilege of serving the Education Department for several years, in work mostly and directly concerned with the Primary Schools of the Province.

Some practical suggestions for the improvement of our Primary Schools are given in the following pages as a result of detailed discussions which the writer has had from time to time with the people directly concerned with Primary education including Government officials, village people and missionaries.

To undertake a work of such an important nature would have been impossible for the writer without the guidance which has been so kindly afforded by so many of his patrons and friends directly concerned with the Education Department, but none of these is in any way responsible for any opinion expressed or conclusions arrived at in these chapters. The writer is specially indebted to the following gentlemen for their invaluable help and guidance in undertaking this work:—

1. R. Sanderson, Esq., M.A., I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, Lahore, who not only allowed the writer to have access to all the departmental reports and records but also kindly accepted the dedication of this book. This is undoubtedly a great encourage-

ment to the writer from the Head of the Punjab Education Department.

2. Col. H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Government College, Lahore, under whose direct supervision and control this research work has been carried on. His suggestions as a Professor of history have been most indispensable to the writer. Practically this work is all his inspiration and the writer feels the obligation of his professor in this undertaking.

3. J. E. Parkinson, Esq., M.A., I.E.S., Principal, Central Training College, Lahore, who not only encouraged the writer in undertaking this work but also afforded valuable help from time to time and wrote a foreword to this book.

The writer is also grateful to him for the pains he kindly took in going through the proofs of this book.

4. Last but not least to K. B. Sheikh Nur Ilahi, M.A., I.E.S., Asst. Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, Lahore, who kindly allowed the writer to carry on his research work in addition to his own duties.

These pages are divided into thirteen chapters of unequal size, according to the importance of the topics discussed in each. Every sort of available information has been consolidated out of the Punjab Education reports and records. The Bibliography has been given at the end. Every book consulted has been given

its value and importance in matters of research work.

The writer is fully conscious of the many shortcomings of this book, which may be explained by the fact that this research work had been carried on by him without sacrificing the interests of his official duties. It is just possible that some important aspects of the subject might have been ignored or dealt with in brief which may be due to the apprehension of enhancing the volume of this book. However any suggestions from the readers to improve this work will be quite welcomed. The writer tenders his apology for the very perfunctory nature of this book.

SANA ULLAH KHAN.

September 1932.

Amritsar.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	Page.
<i>Formulation of Aims.</i> —The establishment of the Department. The policy of Lord Warren Hastings and his successors. The system of education in the North-Western Province. The aims of education. “The Magna Charta of education in India.”	1-9

CHAPTER II.

<i>Indigenous Elementary Schools before 1846.</i> —Various systems of education before the British Government, amongst the Hindus, the Moslems and the Sikhs. The responsibility of the Government of ameliorating the moral and intellectual condition of the people. Education as a state function after the British advent.	10-30
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

CHAPTER III.

<i>Organisation of the Department.</i> —The appointment of a Director and Inspectors. One per cent educational cess fund. The supervising or controlling agency. The appointment of Chief Moharrirs. Scheme of Classification. Primary education defined. Grant-in-aid to indigenous schools. The aims and tendencies of education	31-54
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

CHAPTER IV.

<i>Indian Education Commission 1882.</i> —The object of the Commission. The poor condition of the indigenous schools. The recommendations of the Commission. Measures adopted by the Punjab Government on those recommendations. Summary of the progress achieved upto 1884.	55-61
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------

CHAPTER V.

Development of Education after the Commission of 1884.—
 Steps taken on the recommendations of the Commission.
 The defects in the Primary education system. Controlling Agency revised. The improvement of the inspecting staff. Responsibility of Local Bodies about Education. The difficulties of Local Bodies in this respect. The revision of Primary School Courses.
 The progress of Primary Education 62-74

CHAPTER VI.

*Progress of Primary Education in the 20th Century (1900—1920).—*The number and enrolment of Primary Schools. The reorganisation of the controlling Agency. grant-in-aid to Aided Primary Schools. The establishment of Rural Schools. The work of the Royal Decentralisation Commission. The re-arrangement of jurisdictions allotted to Inspectors. The question of Compulsory Primary Education. Proportion of grant-in-aid made to Local Bodies. The Committee of 1917. The recommendations of the Committee on District Board Educational Finance. Policy of expansion of vernacular education. The reduction of the standard of Primary Schools from five to four classes. The postponement of the teaching of English to the middle Department. The application of compulsion in Lahore and Amritsar Municipal Committees. 75-94

CHAPTER VII.

*Progress of Primary Education after the "Reforms."—*A period of transition. The inception of new Reforms. Government's Policy about education. The effect of Non-co-operation movement in schools. The formulation of the five-year programme. 95-118

The graphic representation of the progress of Primary Page. education for both boys and girls. The success of literacy achieved. The causes of advance made in 1923. The education of adults. The steps taken to remove illiteracy. Extended adoption of the principle of compulsion. Royal Commission on Agriculture about Primary Education. ..

CHAPTER VIII.

Girls Education.—The various systems of educating girls before advent of the British. (The Hindus, the Moslems, and the Sikhs). The establishment of girls' schools. The scheme for training governesses. Training schools for women. The work of Missionary Ladies in the cause of girls' education. The recommendations of the Indian Education Commission. The years of progress. The recommendations of the Conference of 1917. The organisation of the Controlling Agency. The difficulties in the education of girls. 'Roll of Honour' for Girls' education .. 119-134

CHAPTER IX.

Teachers.—The condition of the Primary school teachers. The opening of Normal Schools and a Central Training College. Conditions for admission to Normal Schools. Difficulties in the admission. The syllabus of Normal Schools and its revision. Preparing a village teacher as a community leader. Means of improvement of these Normal Schools. 135-152

CHAPTER X.

Curriculum.—The cumbrous Course of studies in Primary Schools of old days. The syllabus. Recommendations of the General Educational Conference of 1890. The introduction of Punjabi language with Urdu. Rural scheme of studies. Revision of syllabus. Obstacles in the way of extension of Primary education. Remedies suggested. The recommendations of the syllabus Committee of 1923. Mr. Sanderson's view about the Primary school curriculum 153-172

CHAPTER XI.

Page.

<i>Building</i> .—The condition of Primary school buildings in the beginning. Building grants. A five-year building scheme. The type of the Primary school building. The proposal of Mr. Wright made in 1917 about these buildings to be constructed by the Co-operative Department. Mr. Wilson's view about Primary school buildings	173-182
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

CHAPTER XII.

<i>Indian Statutory Commission, 1928</i> .—The object of the Commission. The Hartog Committee and its opinion on Primary education. Wastage and stagnation. Remedies for improvement suggested	183-189
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

CHAPTER XIII.

<i>Scope and Possibilities of the Development of Primary Education in the Punjab</i> .—The effect of British Connection with India. The causes of Wastage and Stagnation discussed. The Government scheme to remove this wastage and stagnation. The pressing need of the Province. Boys of school-going age. The progress of Primary education made in recent years. The village school as a Community Centre. Obstacles in the way of progress. The Government grants for compulsion. The defects in the Compulsory Primary education Act. Teachers as Village guides. District Rural Community Councils. The need of Girls' education. Co-education. Mr. Man Mohan's view. Compulsory Primary Education Committee. Further scope of the development of Primary education. Roll of Honour Concerned with the History of Education in the Punjab	190-206
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

<i>Roll of Honour Concerned with the History of Education in the Punjab</i> .—Ministers, Directors of Public Instruction, Assistant Directors of Public Instruction, Inspectors of Vernacular Education, Principals of Central Training College, Lahore ..	207-217
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------

CHAPTER I.

FORMULATION OF AIMS.

An historical study of Primary Education in the Punjab since the advent of the British Rule in India discloses such a striking development that we can only speak of its earlier and later stages as constituting a contrast.

It is very difficult to justify an attempt to summarise, in these few pages, the aims, methods and results of the British educational policy in the Province. Before taking up the question of this Province proper where the Department established itself by 1856 after the receipt of the Despatch of 1854, it seems imperative to trace out the early history of education in India in order to study the British educational policy and its bearing on the national life of the country including the time when a definite period of responsibility was closed in 1920 and the educational future in India was entrusted under the Reforms Act to Provincial Ministers responsible to respective Legislative Councils. As to the importance of this nation-building Department (Education) suffice it to say that there has been no subject on which Viceroys and Governors have expressed their views with more ease and eloquence.

Tracing out its early history since the British advent it was Lord Warren Hastings who first showed sympathy with oriental culture in a more practical and positive form. He founded the Madrassa in Calcutta for Islamic studies and had encouraged *Pandits* and *Maulvis* by his private patronage and munificence. With the foundation of the Sanskrit College in Benares a few years later was associated the name of another servant of the East India Company *Jonathan Duncan.

Such was also the attitude of the Directors of the East India Company who had already met Wilberforce's plea for 'Missionaries and Schoolmasters' in 1792 by the statement that "the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or give them any more learning or any other description of learning than that which they already possessed."†

Subsequently in 1813, an annual allotment of one lakh of rupees was provided by a somewhat reluctant Court of Directors of the East India Company, in accordance with a clause in the Act of that year which renewed the charter for "the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and improvement

(*) 1756-1811. Governor of Bombay, 1795-1811.

(†) *Vide Resolution carried in Parliament E. R. I. 17.*

of a knowledge of the Sciences.”* This was a sort of sop to Mr. Wilberforce who, since 1792, had been inconveniently vocal in the Commons on measures for the moral and religious instruction of the natives. “The policy of the 13th resolution so discussed by Mr. Wilberforce was, after all, not of a very wide or alarming character; and all that was contemplated being that the Government should not be debarred, by statute, from licensing a certain number of Christian teachers to set sail for, and dwell in the territories subject to the East India Company.” † He made two fine speeches in support of this resolution, exaggerating—as was perhaps almost inevitable—the moral defects and evil results of the Hindu and Islamic religions. As already stated a small sum annually of £ 10,000 was allotted for the encouragement of education, literature and science. In the words of Mr. Roberts in the history of British India, this fund was badly administered for many years but the clause marked the first open recognition by the Government of the duty of ameliorating the moral and intellectual condition of the people of India. The sum voted was not large enough to produce dangerously far reaching results but something might perhaps be done if the co-operation of the natives were stimulated by honorary marks of distinction and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance.

(*) *Vide* E. R. I. 22. Section 43 of the Act Education Records.

(†) *History of India*, Volume II, by Keen, page 8.

Thus a tentative and cautious advance towards the indigenous culture of the natives was made for some ten years by the Committee of Public Instruction appointed for the spending of the allotment. The aims of education, both Elementary and Secondary, were laid down as below :—

- (a) The training of the Hindus and the Moslems to assist in the administration of the country.
- (b) The increase of its material resources and prosperity.
- (c) The enlightened co-operation of the Indian people in suppression of moral and social evils attributed to superstitious ignorance.

The question whether the above three aims were the means or the end towards creating amongst the natives a sort of character to enable them to govern or protect themselves will be discussed later. Nowhere are the hopes of 1835 more clearly and vigorously expressed than in the book on the "Education of the people of India" published in 1838 by C. E. Trevelyan, the Indian Administrator, brother-in-law, and disciple of Macaulay. Though the training of India to govern itself was not recognised explicitly in 1835 as one of the aims of education, the growth of a demand for self-government was undoubtedly admitted as a possible if not probable result *vide* Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro 1824 quoted in Valen-

tine Chirol's. "India Old and New" page 76. English education combined with Oriental learning remained to be evolved until the fateful decision of 1835 when recognition of the value and practicability of which was a deep and vital conviction with such men as Duff, Macaulay and Trevelyan. But as the presentation of a conspectus of the system of that sort of education is not in the province of this book, the writer will, therefore, resort only to a brief reference as to the initiation of that sort of education which had to serve as harbinger of the system to be evolved for Primary education which meant to prepare the right sort of literates (Primary pass) to befit themselves for secondary education. The curriculum of Primary schools necessarily had to follow the requirements of Secondary schools.

As soon as Macaulay left the country in 1837, after a resolute and in his opinion successful attempt as Chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction, to establish unassailably the foundation of a purely Western Education, in opposition to the Orientalist Conservatives who championed the claims of Arabic and Sanskrit, Lord Auckland allowed grants in 1839 for oriental publications by refusing to starve the existing oriental institutions. Undoubtedly Lord Macaulay's able and somewhat one-sided minutes induced the Governor General in Council (Lord William Bentinck) just before his retirement on March 20 to issue the resolution on 7th March, 1835, stating that "The great object of the Bri-

tish Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and sciences among the natives of India and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed in English education alone." The missionaries, under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff, gave the Government of India valuable aid in promoting the cause of sound education. But Lord Hardinge's attempt in 1844 to encourage English education by restricting the higher grades of Government service to those who passed a very severe English test, drew from the Court of Directors a warning that only a moderate and practical knowledge of English, with a thorough command of the Vernacular languages, was required.*

Thus more or less concentration on western studies remained the watchword and was confirmed by Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of July 1854 which is the mainspring of the policy of the Government of India. This Despatch of the Court of Directors of 1854 sometimes called, the "Magna Carta of English education in India" led to establish the universities, the grant-in-aid system and Provincial departments of education as it was the outcome of Parliamentary investigation which preceded the renewal of the charter of 1853, and was influenced by evidence given by E. C. Trevelyan and Duff. Sir Charles Wood, first Viscount Halifax was President of

(*) *Vide* E. R. 11. 271.

the Board of Control.* It laid the foundation of the existing system of Vernacular schools which was thoroughly in accordance with the ideas of both Dalhousie and Thomson. The Governor General lost no time in giving the fullest possible effect to the instructions sent from England which had been prepared with the help of Macaulay, Marshman and other capable advisers."

Even before the year of the receipt of the Despatch the need for Vernacular education in the Punjab had been keenly felt by the Government. In the Punjab Administration Reports of 1851—53, *Vide* paras. 458 and 459, mention has been made of the plans formed on the receipt of the recommendations from the Supreme Government that "the Punjab Government should consider whether the system of Vernacular education in the North Western Province might not beneficially be introduced into the Punjab." Regarding this proposal and the educational need of the Province the report said, "Both the necessity and encouragement of educational measures existed in the Punjab. There were less prejudices and fewer elements of passive resistance or of active opposition. The Sikh fanaticism and fervour were dying out. The Hindus were less superstitious and less priest-ridden. The Moslems were less bigoted and less bound..

(*) *Vide* E. R. II, Chapter IX.

by traditional practice." The then existing state of affairs will be discussed later. Thus a complete scheme based on the system of education then prevailing in the North Western Province (U. P.) was prepared and submitted for the sanction of the Supreme Government in May, 1854. The Government of India sanctioned it with certain modifications in June 1854 while the introduction of this educational scheme as referred to above was under consideration when the Hon'ble Courts' Despatch of 1854 was received.*

So the basis of the education scheme instituted in the Punjab was the policy laid down in the famous Despatch which stated boldly the responsibility of the Government towards the toiling millions and their desire to combat the ignorance of the people which may be considered the greatest curse in the country. The total number of schools directly or indirectly maintained by Government in the Province prior to the organization of the Education Department was 34.†

Since then, the finding out of the kind of Primary education needed in the Punjab and to plan for the preparation of suitable teachers to take a worthy place in this vital work has been considered an educational task of the first magnitude. Constant attention has been devoted

(*) Reference Selection from the Educational Records, Part II, 232. J. A. Richey.

(†) Vide Annual Reports, 1856-57.

by the Government to the unsatisfactory condition of most of the Primary Schools in this Province ; although the baffling elements of the problem are now clearly understood on account of the momentous and critical times through which the Province is passing under the portfolios. Now the urgency of making Primary Schools educate children effectively for life and citizenship has been commonly recognized. The writer would deal here only with the first 4 or 5 years of school life that a child of school-going age—from 5 to 11 years—generally spends in a Primary School. The younger the child the greater the need for the right sort of his education, hence the importance of this subject. The time calls wholly for a new attitude towards Primary education and for extensive reforms but large ideals are not so much required as definite point of procedure to be followed to prepare the Province for the acceptance of the wholesale introduction of Compulsory Primary education as laid down by the Punjab Act No. VII of 1919, passed by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in Council. It is gratifying to learn that a remarkable success has been achieved in the introduction of Compulsory Primary education in most of the areas of this Province in recent years.

CHAPTER II.

INDIGENOUS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS BEFORE THE YEAR 1846.

Entirely a new educational machinery was devised in this Province with the advent of the British Government and the establishment and organization of the Punjab Education Department. In order to find out the bearing the various systems of Primary education, as enforced by the British Government from time to time, have had on the practical life of the people and with a view to compare and contrast the old and new methods of education, it seems necessary to review the past a little before the coming of the English people so far as the various systems of education in vogue amongst the three great communities of the Province—the Hindus, the Moslems and the Sikhs—are concerned. There is no gainsaying the fact that in this age of moral, material and intellectual advancement education has also advanced considerably and the policy of the British Government has been a new departure from those of their predecessors. According to the Hon'ble Courts' Despatch of 1854, this Government took upon themselves the responsibility of ameliorating the moral and intellectual condition of the people and it is the first example in the history of the

Province ; for no other Government, of whatever nationality, ever took upon themselves such a grave responsibility. Education was merely a private concern in the pre-British period and the state never became conscious of the uplift of its subjects.

The teacher in those days, undoubtedly got some material help from the state by way of free grant of land but that was due more to his religious association than to any genuine desire on the part of the state to further the cause of education. As already pointed out the three main communities, the Hindus, the Moslems and the Sikhs, inhabited this Province and each one had its own system of education to follow, more on the basis of their respective religions than anything else. Let us for a while examine the different systems of education that prevailed concurrently before the coming of the English to this Province and which lingered on even after the annexation.

(A) EDUCATION OF THE HINDUS.

In the days of Brahmanic ascendancy the education system which the Brahmins had evolved had no organization behind it. Its strength lay in its being spontaneous social activity quite independent of the varying fortunes of the state. It received munificent aid from innumerable Rajas and higher officials who gave such donations in their individual capacity,

prompted by reverence or a sense of what they owed to particular localities or foundations or "gurus" or a desire for the good of their souls. No culture can, however, live on through centuries unless it can develop a stable self-sufficient political system enough for its defence. Naturally breakdowns occurred at intervals whenever famine, epidemics, wars or invasions devastated particular regions. Education and culture revived as soon as the Province got over such calamities. But this popular initiative which had been an indispensable requisite for the existence and continuance of this system, suffered a set back at the eve of the Moslem conquest.

Inevitably the Hindu life and thoughts were essentially religious and Hinduism was a scheme of living so interwoven with the whole existence of those whom it concerns, and placing every natural habit and duty so entirely on the religious basis as the immediate reason of it, that to distinguish between sacred and profane has been impossible.*

The distinctive principle of Hindu social life—the institution of the caste—had stamped its impress on all the Hindu educational institutions which were of three kinds — Tols, Pathshalas and Lande Mahajani—each being regarded as chiefly concerned with preparing boys to fulfil the duties of their particular vocation in life.

(*) The Education of India by Arthur Mayhew, page 37.

(1) *Tols*.—The country was dotted over with centres of higher learning, thought and culture. They carried on a living interpretation of the rich legacy of former generations. These institutions were practically closed against all but the Brahmans. In them the actual duration of studentship was 12 years. The curriculum consisted of that knowledge whose acquisition would enable the pupil to earn a livelihood either in connection with the performance of religious rites for the people or in the service of a temple. Much stress was laid on the cultivation of memory. The redeeming feature in the system lay in its having been emphatically practical. The mental and moral capacities of the taught were carefully cultivated. A high ideal of moral life and character was held before them. They were taught to despise the physical and material enjoyments with cynical indifference. "Another salient characteristic of this system was that great reverence and respect was required from the pupil while the teacher on his part had also high responsibilities. The idea of relationship of pupil to teacher had been so developed that it had led the teacher to receive divine honours from his pupil. In a more sober connection of this relationship it was thought of as that of father and son. The pupil often resided at the house of his teacher and even, when this was not the case, was always in close contact with him. The paternal relation of the teacher towards the pupil was emphasized by the

absence of any regular fee. The teacher having accepted the responsibility of the position was considered morally bound to perform his duty towards his pupil and moreover in the case of the Brahman preceptor, to teach was a duty which he owed to society. The pupil on the other hand was carrying out this filial relationship not only in the respect he paid to the teacher but also in attending to the service of his household. This included the fetching of water, collecting fuel, sweeping the place round the hearth."**

The system of education looked to the past for its ideals, rather than to the future. It was always recognised that ancient authorities should never be departed from. This very idea always governed its development. The result was that education became stereotyped and the same methods which were followed hundreds of years before the Christian era, continued with little change down to modern times.

2. *Pathshalas*.—The *Pathshalas* existed in all the larger villages as well as in the towns. The teacher and pupils numbering usually about a dozen or twenty met in the early morning under a tree in the village or in the shade of a verandah. Sometimes a temple shed or other buildings might be set apart for their use.

(*) Ancient Indian Education by F. E. Keay, page 178.

“ The curriculum included reading, writing composition of letters and elementary Arithmetic and Accounts. Very few text-books were in use and those that were used were often unsuitable, such as a book containing an account of the armours of god *Krishna* with his cowherd mistress *Radha*. There were four stages of instruction. In the first period, the pupil was taught to form letters on the ground with a small stick. This period lasted for 10 days. In the next period, the master traced letters on the palm leaf with an iron style. The pupil then traced out the letters with a reed pen and charcoal ink. This process was repeated over and over until the pupil no longer needed a copy to guide him. Then he practised on another leaf. He was afterwards exercised in writing and pronouncing the compound consonants. He then received practice in the combination of vowels and consonants and this led on to the common names of persons. In the third period the pupil learned the composition of the simplest form of letters. He was taught the connection of words in sentences and to distinguish literary from colloquial form of speech. The rules of Arithmetic now began with addition and subtraction but multiplication and division were not taught as separate rules. These were effected by addition and subtraction aided by multiplication tables which extended to twenty. These tables were repeated aloud by the whole school once every morning. When the scholar reached

the fourth period, he received more advanced instruction in accounts and began the composition of business letters, petitions and grants of similar productions. Paper now began to be used for writing. After this had been used for a year the scholars were considered as qualified. *Over and above this where the teacher was a temple priest or other Brahmin, he would give to his pupils incidentally a certain amount of instruction in the mythology and sacred lore of the Hindus. But beyond this there does not seem to have been much attention paid to the moral and religious side of education."

The remuneration of the teacher was varied and precarious. It generally consisted of presents, grains, sweetmeats given by the pupils and their parents. But sometimes the whole community subscribed for the support of the school. Not infrequently cash payments were made and sometimes regular salaries were allowed.

The character of these popular schools varied greatly in different places and depended largely upon the efficiency and ability of the teachers. But on the whole they were very inefficient. They were intensely narrow in their outlook and had a strictly utilitarian aim. They had no idea of developing the higher mental life of the pupils or cultivating their æsthetic taste. Any thought

(*) Ancient Indian Education by F. E. Keay, page 146.

of helping him to improve his character or realise the best that was in him was at most only a secondary aim. The purpose was merely to enable the pupil to acquire sufficient mastery of reading, writing and arithmetic and a few applications of these such as the composition of letters and business documents or the keeping of simple accounts as would enable him to perform successfully the business of life. Memorizing was given a very prominent place.

3. *Lande and Mahajani Schools*.—These schools too, existed from a long time for the benefit of the children of the trading classes. The teachers were called *pandhas* and the special feature of these schools was its training in oral arithmetic. *Mr. Arnold made an unfavourable comment on these schools in his first report (para. 23) in 1857 and said, “The *Lande* schools are those in which the children of shopkeepers are taught the mysteries of book keeping and in which that vicious system of accounts, which is daily deprecated in our civil courts, is perpetuated. I have seen several of these schools, and considering the tales we have all heard of the marvellous arithmetical quickness of Hindu boys, have been rather disappointed, etc.”

Dr. Leitner’s estimate of these schools was more favourable.† He considered the system of

(*) Mr. W. D. Arnold (1828—59). An Anglo-Indian official and novelist, the second son of Thomas Arnold D. D. was born on the 7th April 1828 and educated at Rugby.

(†) Vide History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab by, G. W. Leitner, page 40, para. 2.

account keeping to be reliable. He praised that personal interest of the *Pandah*, who either went every morning to the pupils' houses to collect them, or sent a senior student to enquire about the absentees. Being a friend of the parents of the pupils he could inflict punishment on the students for misconduct both at school and at home. The remuneration of the *Pandahs* was very considerable. It depended on their reputation as trainers of good business and on the practical utility of their instruction for which the natives would be ready to pay handsomely.

"Instruction in a *Lande* school included accounts, the writing out of bills and drafts, book keeping and oral arithmetic. The school itself was essentially a commercial speculation ; the master was usually paid in money and on the contract system, receiving a fixed grant on the completion of a certain course of special instruction.*

B. THE MOSLEM SYSTEM.

The permanent settlement of the Moslems in the Province meant the establishment of mosques which, beside their being centres of religious worship, were institutions imparting religious

(*) Report of the Indian Education Commission, page 73, para. 113.

instruction. These institutions were established by royal patrons or religious worshippers and existed by the subsidies they allowed, easily came to naught if patronage was not continued by the successors. The successive Moslem invasions from the north-west and the consequent horrors of bloodshed were a great set back to education of the Province. Throughout the Moslem period, the character of education remained fluctuating and uncertain. It was in part also as Keay puts it in his Ancient Indian Education on page 142, "the result of the despotic rule which indulged in sudden impulses and afforded no certainty or continuance of any new undertaking in this direction. No doubt, as is often asserted, zeal for and interest in education may have induced such benevolent sovereigns as Feroz Shah and Akbar to establish institutions and formulate schemes for making education efficient. But there were no benefices, no avenues of employment. No offices of trust and dignity that required ability to excite the emulation and hopes of young students for pursuing such a system of education." The Moslem Primary Schools, generally called *Maktabs*, were mainly of four kinds (1) Arabic schools, (2) Koran schools, (3) Persian schools, and (4) Persian-Koran schools. These schools were more democratic in form than the Hindu *Pathshalas* and excluded no section of the Moslem Community. The institution was chiefly of a religious character. The course of instruction in secular subjects was very limited.

Arithmetic and Geography were almost neglected: The paternal relation between master and pupil so strongly marked in the Hindu *Pathshala* was much less noticeable. In the words of Mr. Arnold, (1) "An Arabic School can hardly with propriety be called a school at all, the students being almost exclusively adults." So the Arabic school is beneath our consideration.*

(2) *Koran Schools*:—These schools were through and through religious. They were generally attached to mosques, even if they contained only one or two pupils; though they were also held in the private house of a *Maulvi* or a religious patron. All the Moslem boys were supposed to attend them in order that they might at least learn the portions of the Koran required for the Islamic daily devotion. They commenced by studying the Arabic alphabet and as soon as they could read were made to recite *Suras* or chapters of the Koran; neither arithmetic nor writing was taught. The limit of education in these schools was generally learning to recite the Koran. Very few students had any ambition to acquire an education beyond that limit. But still there were always some members of the Community who after completing the elementary course continued their study of Arabic literature. Thus these schools served two purposes: firstly, of giving necessary religious instruction to the Moslem children and secondly, of preparing the boys for the higher Arabic schools.

• (*) *Vide Report on Public Institutions, 1856-57.* page 3

The teacher of this elementary school was very often the Imam of a mosque. His income was derived from landed endowments. The pupils who left the school, invariably remembered their teacher by sending him, say a rupee, on the day of 'Id or on the occasion of a marriage in the family. Such payments were made as a sense of gratitude and not as payment for instruction.

(3) *Persian Schools*—The Persian schools known as "Maktab" were almost invariably conducted by the Moslem teachers. In them were taught the didactic and poetical works of Sadi, Hafiz and other writers of Islamic culture. Selections of them were learnt by heart. Only manuscripts were in use. These schools were resorted to by Hindus as well. Their "confiding" attendance can be explained on the following two grounds.

- (1) Firstly, the official language of the court of Ranjit Singh was Persian; a knowledge of Persian was, therefore, necessary to obtain an appointment in Government service, and
- (2) Secondly, Islamic culture was dominant in the Punjab.

(4) *Persian Koran Schools*—Mr. Arnold again writes in the same report of 1856-57 vide para. 8: "Certainly the idea of education is not new to the Punjabis. We find all the school phraseology ready-made to our

hand, and chiefly supplied by the Moslems. As educators they are in possession of the field. Not only is the *Koran* taught in every mosque, but outside a great many mosques the standard Persian works are taught to all comers, to more Hindus than Moslems. A place where the *Koran* only is taught is called a *Koran* school ; a place where the *Koran* forms the staple, where the whole thing would fall to the ground were it not for the *Koran*, but where secular Persian is taught besides, is called a Persian-*Koran* school. The former institutions are educationally worthless ; which would be too hard a sentence to pass upon the latter. The most striking fact which they present is this that out of 29,000 boys said to be attending indigenous schools, nearly 18,000 are learning Persian.”

He continues in para. 16 “The Persian schools are the most genuine educational institutions in the country. They are attended largely by the Khatris, the Hindus, forming a greater portion than the Moslem. Writing is taught, but not with great energy, and certainly not with great success. The great object is to teach a boy to read *Gulistan* and *Bostan* and the lad who will read a page of either in a fluent sing-song without understanding a word has received an education which fully satisfies both the teacher and parents. Little as the works of *Sadi* are understood by these boys, there is no doubt that they are much enjoyed. In one

of the too frequent cases of child murder, with robbery of ornaments, the victim of a lad of 13, was enticed out by his murderer, a youth of 18, on the pretext of having the *Bostan* read to him."

The number of Koran schools is given as 1,775 in 1856 but there is no doubt that the real number was much greater. In several districts no such schools were mentioned, the fact being that probably every mosque was the site of what was elsewhere called a Koran school. As attendance at these schools did not involve necessarily a knowledge of reading and writing, the number of the other Koran schools have been omitted in this calculation.

The Persian-Koran schools were, of course, invariably kept by the Moslem teachers, and generally held in or just outside the mosque to which the teacher was frequently attached, yet they were attended largely by Hindus more attracted by the Persian language than repelled by Islam.

THE EDUCATION OF THE SIKHS.

In the days of Sikh supremacy in the Punjab, education as a state function received scant attention, for the Sikhs were a race of warriors who were hemmed in on all sides by a variety of foes. Even in the days of Ranjit Singh it remained stagnant. Most of his time was spent in quelling disturbances, consolidating and extending his powers. But with all this "the Sikh was

the protestant of Hindu politics, society and religion. His great aim was to destroy the monopoly of learning or the religious ascendancy of one class and to make education the common property of the masses."

The *Gurmukhi* school where the Sikh child received his instruction was attached to a *Dharmasala* and was chiefly of a religious character. The system of co-education existed in these schools. The boys were taught to write alphabets on the ground with their fingers before they were allowed the use of a wooden slate or a *Patti*. The children then learnt the forms of numerals and simple enumeration and the signs for weights and measures. This was followed by instruction in *Japji* and other books from the *Granth Sahib* containing the sacred writings of the Sikhs. The income of the teacher was derived either from land, or from the contributions of his fraternity or from the endowment of the *Dharmasala* to which the school was attached or similar to the Moslem teachers from the presents of his pupils.

The system of education was economical, and aimed chiefly at imparting religious instruction combined with an elementary knowledge of the 3 R's. It had the further advantage of inviting

(*) History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab, by W. Leitner page 28, para 2.

(†) *Japji* deals chiefly with the eternity of God.

the co-operation of the parents of the children who knew Gurmukhi and thus could assist the child in his lessons.”*

In short with a few exceptions in which Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian were intelligently taught, the schools were considered as hardly answering the western idea of education. They could hardly be said to have had any system at all. The subjects taught in them were either exclusively religious in character or were considered useless. A little reading, chiefly of sacred books and elementary arithmetic comprised the usual course. The education was almost stereotyped. It was an inheritance which was passed inviolable from one generation to another. The teacher exercised no influence over it. He was only a piece of machinery manufactured to fulfil the mental wants of generations long dead. His guide was the ideals he had inherited from his predecessors. Nor was he conscious that the times were changing and a new system of education was needed. The result was that the old systems were adhered to.

The teachers were not only to blame for the unsatisfactory conditions which prevailed in the Province. It was due also to the want of an educational policy. The Sikh rulers, like their predecessors, did not even consider the question of imparting education to their subjects. To

(*) History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab, by W. T. Leitner, page 34.

protect their subjects against foreign invasion was considered by them a duty and to educate them only a wish, though pious. Nor did they require trained well and educated civil service men to administer the departments of their Government. The machinery of the Government was simple. The men in charge of the departments had not to face the many intricate problems of modern Governments which for their solution require the services of specialists. Therefore, no such institution had been established whose diplomas were considered a qualification in any department of the Government of the time. In fact there was no fixed standard of education in the Punjab like one found in the times of the British Government.

Under this state of affairs the British Government came like a blessing from above and all the amenities of life loomed large. The introduction of the new system of secular instruction inaugurated a new era in the history of education in this Province to combat ignorance, superstitions and implicit faith and passive obedience to the priestly guides. The great difficulty had to be solved, the education of that time being instruction by compartments, for particular objects : in Persian for service under Government; in Arabic, Sanskrit or Gurmukhi for religious purposes, in *Lande Mahajani* for trade. As already stated there was no conception of education as a common form of training to be given to all

alike, the aim of which should be to teach children to read and write their own vernacular, to keep simple accounts, and to gain some elementary knowledge of people and things outside their homes. There were lanes and byways, but no highroad. As Mr. Arnold puts it: "To educate a boy by teaching him his native language is to the natives almost a contradiction of terms. Persian is something and Sanskrit is something—but what is Urdu?".* And Punjabi counted far even less as a medium of instruction, Gurmukhi schools being merely for teaching the Sikh religion. The old-fashioned view is still reflected in the regret sometimes expressed at the disappearance of Persian from the Primary school curriculum, which contradicts the comparatively modern claim that Punjabi should be the basis of language teaching.

Immediately after the annexation of the Punjab, education attracted the attention of the Local Government but Primary education was ultimately defined in the Despatch of 1854 wherein the scope of Primary education was explained as consisting of so much knowledge at least of reading and writing, and of the simple rules of arithmetic and land measurement, as would enable each man to look after his own interests.

Various systems of Primary education have been tried since 1856 and the expansion of Ver-

(*) Vide para. 17 First Education Report.

nacular Primary education left two courses open to the Punjab Education Department—one was to make use of the already existing indigenous schools and the other was to start its own schools. The first Educational Report of 1856 contains the following remarks about the then existing indigenous schools :—

“ The value of these indigenous schools as humanizing institutions to which the people are much attached is probably great, and certainly I, for one would deal very tenderly with them ; but educationally, as promoting intellectual improvement, they can hardly be rated too low ”..... It must still be considered an open question whether the one per cent. cess would not be more profitably returned to the contributors, whether education would not really be more effectively disseminated by establishing 30 teachers in a district on Rs. 15 than a hundred on Rs. 5..... ”.

Details of the various systems of education (Primary) as introduced by the Punjab Education Department from time to time will be discussed in the next chapters. Such conditions as these prevailing concurrently amongst the various communities of the Province before the institution of the Department served a foundation stone for Primary education to be introduced. The Government at the very outset had to face a

peculiar difficulty. It was not easy to discover from what point of thought or practice the Government ought to begin, on what principles to create and on what lines to map out the new structure. The only alternative of taking over the indigenous schools under their control with a few instructions and the frame work of curriculum seemed a course attractively facile as already stated. The indigenous schools of the Province, however inefficient, offered a ready material to work upon, although the teachers of these schools, untrained as they were, proved to be slow to alter their methods or to raise their standard of instruction. But this superstructure built on the indigenous education could not prove equal to the progressive needs of the Society unless this whole system was lifted out of the conventional rut and its level raised through the direct instrumentality of the Government. So to the Government was left the imperative necessity of evolving some new schemes likely to meet the new demands.

Another motive led the Government to depart from the past. There were no indigenous schools among the aboriginal tribes. The children of the lowest castes were not generally admitted to these schools especially amongst the Hindus. The exclusive reliance upon such schools was to lead to perpetual ignorance of large sections of the community. The Government had, there-

fore, to work out a definite system of education which determined rightly to bring all the natives of the Province under a uniform system of instruction. We shall now observe in the following pages how the policy for the introduction of Primary Schools in this Province was formed and how eventually it was put into execution.

CHAPTER III.

ORGANISATION OF THE DEPARTMENT.

The Punjab Education Department, as at first constituted early in 1856, consisted of a Director on a salary of Rs. 1,200; of two Inspectors on salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 800; of 10 Visitors on Rs. 100 to 200 ; of 60 Assistant Visitors on Rs. 40 to 80. Later the title of Deputy or Sub-Deputy Inspector was adopted for subordinate Educational Officers. The general machinery of the Department was naturally formed on the model of that existing in the North Western Provinces. .

Full operations to disseminate Vernacular education among the different communities of the Province began at the very outset by the establishment of a school at each Tahsil head-quarter and the improvement of indigenous schools. The sites of the schools were fixed by the Deputy or Sub-Deputy Inspectors in consultation with the Deputy Commissioners concerned. Teachers of the old stock who appeared to be popular and respectable were appointed as Tehsil Schoolmasters on Rs. 15 per mensem. When the people heard of the Government educational scheme, the first impression was that their children were to be taught in exactly the

same way as formerly by the *Mian Sahib* and the *Pandit Sahib* but that the Mian and the Pandit were for the future to be paid, not by them, the parents, but by the state. A short set of rule for their guidance was printed and given to each schoolmaster on his appointment.

A new curriculum of secular instruction was formulated and began to be imparted through the medium of Urdu. Sheikh Sadi was still retained but he was deposed from his place as absolute monarch. Persian was allowed but Urdu was insisted on. At the end of the year 1856-57 the number of Tahsili schools in operation was 107 with the daily attendance of 4,601 boys. These schools were all supported out of the general revenues.

The highest native educational officials in the North Western Provinces had, as their name implied, charge of a single district each. It was thought that an efficient organisation might be carried out in a less costly manner, and it was determined to appoint the Deputy Inspector to the charge of two or three districts while the Sub-Deputy Inspectors in subordination to them were made specially responsible for the working of each district. The system worked well at first.

One per cent, educational cess
fund.

The Government however, soon found that this system was not

satisfactory. The indigenous schools did not possess in themselves any elements which were capable of development. Moreover their paucity and ephemeral character was made known. So the Government changed their policy by establishing a system entirely supported by the Government. It was also found out that popular education might be made to a great extent self-supporting by proposing that the tax-payers of land revenue should contribute a small percentage for this special purpose. This proposal was made and was to a great extent successful, especially in the Districts of Hoshiarpur, Sialkot and Gujrat. Accordingly it was thought that the education cess should also, if possible, be extended to all districts of the territory. It was henceforth ordered that in all cases where the settlement had not been completed, one per cent on the revenue should be levied for the maintenance of village schools and wherever a settlement existed, the District Officer was instructed to induce the people voluntarily to consent to the introduction of the cess. The ways of spending this amount were devised as below :—

- (1) To administer the cess in small grants-in-aid of existing village schools ;
- (2) To select certain of the best of these schools or to find new ones in central situations and to pay the teachers as regular servants.

Mr. Arnold writes :—*

“ In favour of the first course it was obvious that the money so spent would go much further. Taking five rupees as the very lowest monthly stipend on which the village schoolmaster could be maintained, it might be reckoned, on the first plan of aiding indigenous teachers, that half this sum would be derived from the village ; while on the second plan the whole must be paid out of the cess. Thus we would aid twice as many schools as we could maintain.”

“ Again it seemed fair that a cess collected indifferently from all villages should be expended as widely as possible ; and that those villages in which a school existed should, besides the payment which they shared with other villages where there was no school, pay something special for the special benefit they enjoyed. On the other hand it was clear that schools which were entirely supported out of the public fund, out of the common cess and which accordingly would be to all intents and purposes Government schools, could be far more efficiently organised and managed than schools supported by individuals and only aided by Government.”

†It was from the first resolved and has now been expressly ordered by the Supreme Government that the one per cent. cess should be spent locally ; i.e. the amount raised in each

(*) Page 8, para. 53 of the First Educational Report.

(†) Para. 60, page 9 of the First Educational Report.

Parghana shall not, without the express permission of the Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, be spent out of that *Parghana*. The amount of the cess in each *Parghana* formed, therefore, the limit of the village school organisation."

In short the number of all the village schools existing at the end of the year 1856-57 was 456 and the number of pupils 6064. Out of these 170 had been established prior to the institution of this Department. The total annual cost of these schools amounted to Rs. 23,472 only; whereas the annual amount of the cess levied in the Punjab was not less than Rs. 1,38,034 leaving an unexpended balance of Rs. 1,14,562.

Necessary statistics are given in the departmental reports to show the progress made in the introduction of Primary education in the Punjab from time to time. However the whole period is divided in decades as below to show the development of Primary schools.

1857-66.—Owing to the great mutiny in 1858 the Education Officers concentrated all their efforts to maintain the Government village schools on a firm footing instead of attempting to establish fresh village schools until the crisis passed over.

There was a general disagreement as to the unsatisfactory results of the efforts which had been made during the three foregoing years to diffuse education amongst the people. Those

efforts had been vigorous and comprehensive but sufficient attention had not been paid to the means without which they could not be successful. This decrease was mainly due to the change of system, the rivetting of stricter rules, the levy of fees, combined with the scarcity and dearness of food which discouraged parents from sending their children to schools.

A notable feature of the year 1859-60 was the change effected in the Supervising Agency of vernacular schools. Formerly owing to the dearth of competent men, it was necessary to import a great number of Deputy and Sub-Deputy Inspectors from outside the Punjab who had little or no influence with the people of this Province and were much disliked by the Tehsildars and other native officials. This system was at length pronounced to be very inefficient by the Government; therefore the Government decided to:

- (a) abolish the native Supervising Agency,
- (b) vest the executive management of vernacular schools in the hands of the District Officers.

The difficulties in procuring a raw material for the village schools were many, as it was to be obtained by persuasion not by coercion among the people who knew little and cared nothing for the Department. The desire for education was as yet to be created. This system of seeking the help of the civil authorities was the only remedy at that time. The history of Primary

education of this Province shows that as that desire extended, personal influence of the civil officers was not essential to the success of the Department. There were two natural drawbacks to the new arrangement:—

- (1) The indifference in some places of the civil authorities to their education duties;
- (2) The inability of the Tehsildars to examine the higher classes in vernacular schools through ignorance of the subjects studied therein.

But both these defects were remedied by the Department, the first by bringing down the censure of the Government on an officer as much as the neglect of any other duty entrusted to his charge and secondly by ordering the school Moharrirs to help the Tehsildars in the inspection work.

The effect and operation of the measures already detailed proved certainly to be beneficial and the influence of the District Officers and their subordinates could and would have shown itself in increased attendance at vernacular schools but for the following disturbing causes arisen which brought about contrary results.

(1) *Famine*,—Its consequent distress thinned the schools and gave all classes of the community little leisure for the promotion of education.

(2) *The levy of cess.*—This was remedied by relaxing the rules until times became more prosperous, *viz.*,

- (a) the Agriculturists were exempted from paying the entrance donation as well as the monthly tuition fee.
- (b) all diligent scholars who had not hitherto paid their fees were excused the payment, and no fresh boy was admitted till the limit of free scholars fell to the prescribed 10% of the aggregate attendance.

The payment of Tahsili schools from 1% cess fund instead of from the general revenue and organization of superior Normal Schools for training vernacular teachers produced unmistakably good results.

A manual for the guidance of school moharrirs and another for vernacular teachers was in course of preparation as the want of such handbooks was keenly felt owing to the fact that the old Supervising Agency acquainted with the departmental rules were swept away. This was the basis of the preparation of the First Punjab Education Code.

The co-operation of the civil authorities were really great. The Government decided to direct the exertions of the Department towards improving the character of the existing schools,

by the appointment of teachers carefully trained and adequately paid. Both the Education and District Officers found that instruction given in village schools was not of a higher character than formerly, in consequence of the training bestowed on the masters.*

The year 1861-62 strikes a land mark in the history of Vernacular education in the Province so far as a new mode of classifying vernacular schools into town and village schools was recommended, since the term "Tahsili" did not in any way define the status of the school. A Vernacular system was fully introduced. The town schools were to reach a certain level of efficiency instead of being like the old Tehsili schools distinguished merely by being at the headquarters of Tehsils. A school which had an average daily attendance of 50 boys and in which 20 boys were above the 6th class and some of the boys should have advanced as high if not higher than the 3rd class, was entitled to be classed as a town school. Only the schools which fulfilled these conditions and in which there was a satisfactory probability of these conditions being permanently and faithfully maintained could be promoted to the higher grade.

Under this new arrangement the cost of the town schools was transferred from the 1% cess fund to the Imperial Revenues. After the

* *Vide* Secretary to Government, Punjab, No. 240, dated 3rd July 1861.

organization of the Department, the Tahsili schools were all maintained out of the Imperial Funds of Rs. 35,000. In 1860 this charge was transferred to the 1% cess fund and the amount thus rendered available, together with other large savings effected by the abolition of the native Supervising Agency, was supplied to the establishment of Zilla and Normal Schools. This was the only way in which the reorganization of the Department could be carried out owing to the restrictions at that time put upon all extra expenditure on education from Imperial Revenues. But now this difficulty no longer existed. It became highly desirable and absolutely essential that the burden of maintaining the best of its schools should again fall on the Imperial Revenues; for the transfer made in 1860 had been a temporary expedient, and involved spending annually out of the 1% cess fund at least $\frac{1}{4}$ of a lac more than the income. The excess expenditure over the income had been met for 3 years between 1860—63 out of the accumulated balances of that fund. But these balances were heavily indented on during the above period for building vernacular school houses so that they were all exhausted by this time.

About this time a grant of Rs. 40,000 was solicited out of the Imperial Revenue for defraying the cost of a certain portion of vernacular schools. So that it was anticipated that after relieving the 1% cess fund of one fourth of a lac

annually spent in excess of income and for the future keeping its expenditure and income equalised, there would be available Rs. 15,000 every year for the improvement and extension of village schools both males and females. It was done on the plea that if the 1% cess fund were not relieved by the aid from the Imperial Revenue, it would be absolutely necessary to close a great portion of the vernacular schools. This demand was finally accepted and the Tahsili schools began to be subsidized by the Imperial Revenues. Thus the 1% cess fund was made available for the support of Primary Schools. It would henceforth be expended for the exclusive benefit of the agricultural population. The arrangement was therefore made thus—1% cess fund was a Provincial Fund ; but the expenditure in each district was regulated by the income as estimated by the District Officer of the district.

A deduction of 5% from the estimated income was made over for the repairs of school-houses and of 6% for general charges including part of the cost of Normal Schools, the salary of the Inspectors, the scholarships to selected pupils for vernacular schools and the balance was allotted to the district where it was raised. The whole amount was henceforth to be utilized for the entire benefit of the male people and not all to be spent in towns where non-agriculturists preponderated. Encouragement to the schools was afforded by the occasional appointment of

the best scholars to vacancies as Patwaris, Moharrirs, etc.

In para. 11 of his Despatch No. 14, dated 8th April, 1861 the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India laid great stress on making the schools more self-supporting and inducing the wealthier classes to contribute towards the expenses of education. Much of it had already been done by the Department by way of levying fees from the pupils. It was also decided that an elementary English teacher may be appointed to any vernacular school where the people themselves would guarantee Rs. 15 as a moiety of his salary, the other moiety to be paid from the 1% cess fund.

Further means were suggested by the Punjab Government, *vide* Secretary to Punjab Government letter No. 318, dated 30th January, 1860, to the Director of Public Instruction, to improve the Department whereby steps were taken to effect better supervision over the Tahsil and Village Schools by placing them under the control of the District Officers and appointing extra Moharrirs.

It was decided that none but those trained in the Normal Schools who were natives of the Punjab be paid by the Government and all others should qualify themselves in the nearest Normal School. In case of their refusal they were at liberty to keep up the schools themselves as indigenous schools without any assistance whatsoever.

The efforts of the Department for the improvement of indigenous schools were highly commended by the Government. The aim was to bring up these schools to the standard of Government village schools by judicious advice and notice, by the grant of books and rewards and thus to advance the cause of vernacular education.

Efforts had already been made to improve the indigenous *Koran* and *Hindi* schools by the Department. The Inspectors held talks with the teachers and persuaded them to add other useful branches to their ordinary curriculum of instruction by small grant of books, and promises of rewards. The prospects of their entering Government employ proved to be an incentive to their teachers to improve themselves and their scholars.

Another mode of classification was adopted in 1863-64 by the classification of schools as higher, middle, and lower class schools. All *Zilla* schools belonged to the higher class, all vernacular town schools to the middle and all village schools to the lower class. The town schools became middle schools as classified above and the pupil teacher system continued to be strongly advocated for this grade of schools.

As to village schools which were subsequently turned into Primary schools, the District Officers did their best to make these schools popular

and efficient. The departmental rules as to fee, scheme of studies, etc., were generally allowed to be relaxed in these schools in order that the wild tribes on the Northern Frontier should give up restless habits and strong religious prejudices and be brought within the pale of education and civilization.

Another notable feature was the formation of a special Educational Committee in 1863-64 for the consideration of rules for the liberal award of grant-in-aid to the aided institutions. The Commission comprised the then Financial Commissioner, the Civil and Public Works' Secretaries to the Punjab Government, the Commissioner of Lahore and the Manager of the Mission Schools at Lahore and Amritsar who with the then Director of Public Instruction were required by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor to consider the best means of giving greater effect to the provisions of the Educational Despatch of 1854. The main subject for consideration naturally came to be the modification and amendment of the existing grant-in-aid rules. After full discussion a new scheme of grant-in-aid rules of the most liberal kind was submitted to the Government which got the sanction of His Honour in 1864-65.

Indigenous schools were visited occasionally and encouraged by the grant of small rewards in cash and books but no regular returns of them were kept as no reliable statistics could be pro-

cured. In fact these schools were of a fluctuating character, and little or no control could be exercised over them.

In reviewing what had been achieved during these few years it was felt that the principles laid down in the Despatch of 1854, should be carried out to the fullest extent as the object of Despatch of 1854, namely the encouragement of schools independent of Government affording a good secular education had not as yet been sufficiently attained in the Punjab.

The appointment of As already stated the greatest Chief Muharrir. defect was the absence of any subordinate inspection and supervision agency of an efficient kind. The difficulties anticipated in the new arrangement made in 1861, of placing all vernacular schools, under the supervision of the District Officers, began to be realized. The District Officers could not, as a matter of fact, devote much time to these schools and it was absurd to leave their management entirely in the hands of the Tehsildars who had no conception of school organization and discipline and no knowledge of the subjects taught. It was, therefore, determined in 1867 to appoint in each district a "Chief Moharrir" to be aided by an assistant. The duties of a Chief Moharrir were the same as those of the Deputy Inspector in other provinces, only the former was ill-paid and was of lower social standing and very imperfectly educated.

In 1870 the number of village schools was reduced owing to the following two reasons :—

- (1) The savings that had accumulated during the infancy of the department were exhausted and it consequently became necessary to confine the expenditure from the 1% cess within the income.
- (2) The salaries of teachers could not be increased. It was determined that henceforth the salaries of village teachers should range from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 per mensem.

One of the greatest obstacles to the extension of primary education was the fact that the mass of artisans and of agriculturists did not yet perceive in education any advantage of any kind unless it had the effect of raising their children to a higher class. The Department considered the advisability of removing this difficulty by the establishment of Agricultural and Industrial schools designed to combine with technical instruction a good elementary education, for nothing would have tended more to raise the condition of the people of this country than the establishment of industrial schools. A proposal was made for the imposition of an educational rate with a view of placing *Zillah* schools on the grant-in-aid system, extending vernacular education and providing for the establishment in the first instance of a good Agricultural and Industrial school.

It was in the year 1870-71 that the vernacular schools (town and village) were classified as *Primary* and *Middle Class Schools*. The Primary School was to contain four classes and the Middle six. Where there was any demand for higher education the Vernacular Upper Class Schools were established. A uniform system of examination was introduced.

It was in 1872 when a Primary School was defined by the Department as such *:

“A Primary School will consist of four classes and the course of study, if regularly prosecuted will extend over four years. The first class will be the lowest and the fourth class the highest.”

Although, the number of Primary Schools decreased, yet the number of boys increased. The Inspectors were required to introduce thoroughly the new scheme of studies and classification from the beginning of the year 1872. The system of Primary School examination was also introduced and was proposed to be held annually by the Inspector of Schools or his Assistant between the 1st of October and 31st of March in every district throughout the Punjab at such places as may be found convenient. Pupils who completed the course for the 1st and 2nd classes of vernacular schools were to pass the Lower School examination and no boy who failed

was considered for promotion to the 3rd class of a Primary School. Promotions were to be made from class to class on the 1st January.*

The Government accepted the view of Dr. Leitner, the then Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi Circle, to better the mode of obtaining increased efficiency in Primary Schools. He was of opinion that much may be done by inducing the people themselves to contribute to their support supplementary deficiencies in the Educational Cess by their private subscriptions and placing as many primary and village schools as possible on the grant-in-aid principle, thereby utilizing whatever teaching element was indigenous or popular in the village.

The system of grant-in-aid was found to be unsuitable in 1873 for the Indigenous Village Schools as is clear from the Despatch of Secretary of State for India, dated 4th July, 1859 and subsequent orders of Home Government. The Department believed that the expansion of primary education was not to be effected by the adoption of any new system, but by constant efforts to make our village schools as cheap and as numerous as possible and by diverting a portion of the funds and spending it on higher salaries.

There prevailed a misconception in some quarters that the religious neutrality of Government schools excluded the moral or religious

(*) Vide Director of Public Instruction's Circular No. 50, dated 15th July, 1871.

side of education. But the fact was quite otherwise ; for the existence of God and the sufficiency of Conscience as a rule of conduct, were recognised by all classes who attended these schools.

It was in 1874 that the aims and tendencies of the Educational system were thus explained:—

- (1) To train the mental faculties so that any undertaking in after life may be carried on with intelligence.
- (2) To impart information which may prove of practical use in years to come, so to train the eye and the taste that the most humble may derive pleasure from beauty in nature and in art.
- (3) To train the moral feelings so that the schools may turn out good men and good citizens.
- (4) To develop a healthy body by a judicious course of physical training.

Now primary education was made to afford a great scope for local energy. The Municipalities of large towns were required to make adequate provision for primary education of all classes and in return Committees were entrusted, subject to certain restrictions, with the entire management of Lower and Primary Schools.

which rested with the Department. Among the Agricultural class the schools steadily advanced in popularity.

The following scheme of classification was devised in 1875 for the arrangement of Classes and Departments in Government schools :—

9th Class	Upper School
8th "	
7th "	
6th "	Middle School.
5th "	
4th "	Anglo Vernacular or Vernacular.
3rd "	
2nd "	Primary School Vernacular.
1st "	
	Lower School Vernacular.

The effect in the new system of classification was that the 4th class of Primary and Middle Schools overlapped each other.

The indigenous schools continued to be badly maintained and poorly taught in these years.

By this time a new financial arrangement had been made for the maintenance of Primary Schools. The Government ruled that Primary Vernacular Schools whether Municipal or District Board would, henceforth, be supported from Town Municipal and District funds. The newly appointed District Committees were entrusted with large powers in the disposal of funds avail-

able for the extension of Primary education among the Agricultural classes. They were also required by the Government to pay the salaries of District Inspectors and to contribute to the cost of Normal Schools. Henceforth the extension of Primary education depended almost entirely on the amount of contribution that the District or the Municipal Committees were willing and able to make for the purpose. The Education Department could not force these bodies to open new Primary Schools. If left to themselves, however they would have greatly multiplied the number of Middle Schools at the expense of Primary education. All the leading members of the Bodies in town and country who took any interest in education desired the establishment of schools for secondary education near their homes in preference to the maintenance of additional Vernacular Primary Schools in other localities. The number of schools, therefore, began to diminish. The local funds on which additional charges were thrown were not relieved of any corresponding burden and the result was not only a cessation of the extension of Primary education which had been in late years in rapid progress, but actual reduction for the time being of the number of the existing Primary Schools.

So far only a beginning had been made. The number of scholars attending Primary Schools for boys, as compared with the total population

was less than $\frac{1}{2}\%$. The number of Primary Schools in the Punjab was 1419 with 66,881 boys which gave an average of nearly 48 schools to each district of the Province, and of a little less than one soul to every 10,000 souls of population.

During the year 1880 the new system of classification, laid down by the Government of India, was introduced in the Punjab and new forms of education returns adopted. This question had been under consideration for some years past and in 1875, a Committee consisting of Mr. Deighton of the Educational Department (North Western Province), Mr. Bourdellon of the Civil Service, and Lt. Colonel W. R. M. Holroyd, B. Sc., the then Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab, was appointed to report on the subject. The main principles that they advocated in their report were accepted by the majority of the authorities who were consulted. The final recommendations made by the Committee after slight modifications, were accepted by the Government of India.

The following were the principal rules for the classification so far as Primary education was concerned under the head IV.*

“Schools are for general education or for special or technical training. General education is of two classes—Secondary and Primary.”....

*Vide Annual Report of the Punjab Education Department, page 2.

In Primary Schools shall be included all pupils who are under instruction from the earliest stage up to the standard at which secondary education begins, this standard being marked by an examination to be called the Upper Primary School Examination. Primary Schools shall consist of two divisions, the number of pupils in each division being shown in the returns.

- (1) The Lower Division containing pupils preparing for an examination to be styled the Lower Primary School Examination.
- (2) The Upper Division consisting of pupils who have passed the standard.

PRIMARY EDUCATION.

1st Class } Primary School—Lower Division,
 2nd class } preparing for the Lower Primary
 3rd class } School Examination.

4th class } Primary School—Upper Division,
 5th class } preparing for the Upper Primary
 School Examination.

Rules were revised for the award of grant-in-aid to Private Institutions by the Government of India *vide* its proceedings Home Department (Education) under date Fort William, 11th February, 1871. (Read again Financial Department Resolution No. 3334, dated 14th December).

As the year 1882 marked the close of one epoch and the beginning of another in the history

of Education in India the two years 1882-83 and 84 are dealt with in the next chapter under the head "Indian Education Commission of 1882." But the figures, as given in the reports show that the progress of Primary Education in these years specially in 1883-84 had been large. The number of boys was the highest ever reached previously. Special stress was laid on the increase and improvement of the indigenous schools which were of the following kinds :—

- (a) Persian Schools.
- (b) Persian and Koran Schools.
- (c) Purely Koran Schools.
- (d) Arabic Schools.
- (e) Gurmukhi Schools.
- (f) Hindi (Nagri Schools).
- (g) Sanskrit Schools.
- (h) Schools for Lande Mahajani.
- (i) Miscellaneous Schools.

In fact these schools were worthless schools. These rather deterred the boys from going to the Government schools where regular instruction was imparted.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN EDUCATION COMMISSION.

Truly it is said, "The history of education is the battle ground and the burial ground of impracticable theories and one who studies it is soon taught to abate his constructive self-confidence and to endeavour humbly to learn the lessons and harmonize the results of experience."

*Inspite of the best efforts of the Department the progress of Primary education was far from satisfactory. The chief reason of this failure was the neglect of indigenous schools by the Department as is shown from the cross-examination of Lt. Colonel Holroyd, the Director of Public Instruction by the Hon'ble W.W. Hunter, President of the Indian Education Commission. This Commission was appointed by the Government of India with a view to institute a thorough enquiry into the existing system. The Director, under a searching cross-examination by the President, had to admit that while there was one Primary School to 1,783 inhabitants in the backward divisions of the Province and one school to 1441 inhabitants in the advanced divisions, before the annexation of the Punjab, there was according to the census of 1881 one school to

(†) Punjab Educational Department Report, year 1872-73.

9,028 inhabitants. It was also admitted that the indigenous* schools remained out of the Department, unaided, uninspected and unrecognized in any way. The President then referred to the decrease in the number of students in Primary Schools which was 110,649 in 1881-82, while the number of students in 1875-76 had been 1,15,284.

The village local cess which was first raised in 1854 exclusively for the support of the village schools had been diverted to other purposes, such as the building of high class town schools, jail schools, purchase of tents for the Director and the Inspector.*

From a careful perusal of the evidence before the Commission it appears that Primary education in the Punjab was starved. The imperial grant on education in the Punjab in 1871 was Rs. 6,49,090 but of it only Rs. 1,771 were spent on Primary Vernacular education.

Another cause which checked the spread of Primary education in the Punjab was the preference given to the teaching of Urdu rather than Hindi or Punjabi in the Departmental schools. As the question became coloured by religious prejudices, the Commission refrained from giving any decision and suggested that the choice of a vernacular should be determined by the Local

(*) Report by the Punjab Provincial Committee. See evidence of H. R. M. Holroyd, page 269.

(†) Dr. Leitner's evidence before the Indian Education Commission.

Boards. The commission also observed that the studies of the Punjab Primary Course should be simplified as far as possible. But a mere simplification of existing standards on their present lines was far from being all that was required. One of the great charges brought against our educational system and the one truth of which it was most difficult to dispute was that the Department had wholly failed to bring the peasants of the province to the Primary Schools. The explanation tendered was that he had no desire for education and there was probably much truth in the assertion. But it was doubtful whether the Department ever offered him an education which it would have been reasonable to expect him to desire.

Then there was another difficulty of the fixed school hours which only deprived the father of his children's help in the fields, but prevented the children from being gradually inured to the exposure and hard work which would be their daily lot in after life.

The Education Commission also recommended in their report that promotion from class to class should not be made to depend upon the results of a fixed examination uniform throughout the Province. It was thought advisable to leave the power of promotion in Primary Schools not attached to Secondary Schools to the Inspecting Officers.

A full report was drawn up for submission to the Government of India showing what had been done in accordance with the orders that had been issued with regard to the recommendations of the Education Commission. The annual report of the Punjab Education Department for 1885 says on page 6.

“It was impossible, however, to expect any considerable results unless additional funds could be made available for educational purposes and hopes of assistance having been held out by the Government of India, application was made for a grant of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees from the Imperial Revenue for the promotion of Primary Education. Owing to the troubles on the Frontier, the Government of India was unable to render the assistance that had been anticipated. By the exercise of economy the Punjab Government has succeeded in providing a lakh of rupees to be spent during the current year carrying out the objects in view. This money was expended partly in strengthening the subordinate inspecting staff, improving and extending the existing arrangements for training primary teachers and partly on the establishment of additional Primary Schools and the improvement of institutions of various kinds, including indigenous schools in which elementary instruction is imparted.” In addition to the amount referred to above an annual grant of Rs. 8,000 was made in 1883-84 to Local Bodies.”

- (h) The standard of Primary Schools was revised with a view of simplification as recommended by the Commission.
- (i) All schools for general education, formerly under the Department with the exception of model or practising schools attached to the Central Training College and the Normal Schools, were transferred to the management of Municipal Committees.
- (j) Completely new rules regarding the levy of fees were promulgated in conformity with the recommendations of the Conference and the Commission.
- (k) The improvement of physical development by the encouragement of manly games and gymnastic exercises (*vide* para. 93).
- (l) Revised rules for the award of scholarships were laid down.
- (m) Rules were adopted for the management of Boarding Houses.
- (n) Adequate arrangements were made for the training of teachers in the Central Training College, Lahore, which was the first institution of its kind established in India.
- (o) Arrangements for the opening of the Punjab Chiefs' College at Lahore.
- (p) The Government Book Depôt was abolished and books were now sold

by a private firm. All books proposed to be introduced into schools were examined by the Text-Book Committee, which consisted of 24 members of whom half were appointed by Government and half by the University.

SUMMARY OF THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED UP TO 1884.

The British territory of the Punjab, then included a total population of 18,850,437 souls, of which 10,210,053 were males. Of these again 2,665,015 or 26% of the population or 1 in 3.85 were between 5 and 15 years old or of school going age while 1,421,989 or 14% or 1 in 3.14 were between 5 and 10 years old or of an age to be at a Primary School. The attendance at our 1,629 Primary Schools of all kinds for males was 106,901 boys or 7.53% or 1 in 13.3 of the total number of boys who should be at a Primary Schools. Of the total number 0.37% were Europeans and Eurasians, 0.3% were native Christians, 52.5% were Hindus, 37.8% were Muslims, 8.6% were Sikhs, and 0.67% were others. Of boys of school going age, there was 1 in 2.45 among Christians, 1 in 9.08 among the Hindus, 1 in 8.64 among the Sikhs, 1 in 20.4 among the Mussalmans in attendance at the then existing Primary Schools.*

CHAPTER V. DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AFTER THE COMMISSION OF 1884.

The year 1884 constituted in one respect an epoch in the history of Education in the Punjab; for towards the end of 1883 the report of the Education Commission of which mention has already been made in the previous Chapter, was published. Sir Charles Aitchison's orders upon the recommendations of the Commission were communicated to the Director. Advantage was taken of the occasion to emphasize and to develop in greater detail and with more precision the changes which His Honour wished to see effected in the administration of the Department.

The British territory of the Punjab then included a total population of 188,50,437 souls of whom 102,10,053 were males and of these 26,65,015 were between the age of five and fifteen or of school-going age. Out of these 106,901 boys or 7.53 per cent or one in 13.3 were found to be reading in 1,629 Primary Schools. An additional sum of Rs. 8,000 from Provincial Revenues had been assigned for the foundation of new Primary schools on the condition that an amount equal to the allotment to each District should be devoted to the same purpose from Local Revenues. This resulted in the steady improvement of Primary schools. The great difficulty was to find tolerably efficient teachers.

It was apprehended that 93 per cent. of the boys did not go beyond the Primary stage and as many as 84% of Primary standard never went further than the Lower Primary. This necessitated the revision of the lower and upper Primary standards. But mere simplification of the existing standards was far from being all that was required. The curriculum of a Primary school comprised too much of Persian, decimal fraction, pounds, shillings and pence tables, geography of the world and the area of a circle.

The husbandman did not want these things ; he positively objected to them as turning his son into a 'munshi' who would not follow his father's plough. The need of village standards for village primary schools was, therefore, keenly felt. The then Director of Public Instruction thought that arithmetic should be based upon native methods strictly limited to the problems arising in the daily commerce of the village. Reading an easy story book and writing a simple letter should follow next in importance ; map of the village, Tahsil and District to be taken up the next.

In paragraph 16 of the Review of the Educational Report for 1881-82, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor laid down that "the Vernacular which is taught in Government schools is and for the most part must of necessity be, in this part of India, Urdu". And the content shows that the Persian character was included by implication. The policy was reaffirmed in December 1883 when Government

were picked men of great energy and high qualifications ; others were far less satisfactory ; sometimes they were too old for work being not only deficient in physical activity, but also behind the times in educational matters. The essentials of a Divisional Inspector were considered to be not only possessing physical and mental energy and activity but equally important that he should be educationally the superior of the most advanced amongst the teachers under his control. The growth of Primary schools necessitated the addition of Subordinate Inspecting Agency. A proposal to add Assistant District Inspectors was discussed in 1884 and gave rise to some difference of opinion. But it was decided that if the examination of Primary schools was to be thorough, an assistant was required in the larger districts. There were also numerous complaints of the want of interest exhibited by the Tahsil officials in the schools of their jurisdiction. The general idea prevailing amongst Tahsildars and their assistants was that school work was not a part of their own legitimate duties and they did not therefore, think it incumbent upon them to go out of their way to inspect a school, but merely visited those schools which were on their road while they were out on their duties. Rules for the inspection of schools by Tahsildars and their Naibs were issued under the authority of the Financial Commissioner in December 1883.

In his report for 1884-85 Mr. Ibbetson, then officiating Director, recorded his opinion that the inspecting staff was the weakest part in the Punjab

Education Department. The officers, he considered, were efficient but neither had their numbers been augmented nor had their position improved for many years, whilst the work to be done had increased enormously. But the funds were not available to carry out the measures that were considered desirable. It was in 1886 that a District Inspector had been appointed in every district except Simla and Kohat where the schools were too few to justify the employment of an inspecting officer. The circles of Inspectors were also revised whereby the work was more evenly distributed than before.

These officers were expected not to interfere directly in the management of schools but to afford their valuable assistance in keeping the school houses and materials in good order and still more in raising the numbers in attendance.

The condition of the tutorial staff in village schools, though much improved, was far from satisfactory. The following remarks of Lala Sagar Chand, the then Inspector of the Lahore Circle are interesting. "Of the 741 head teachers only 248 or 33 per cent., held certificates, 133 have passed the Middle School Examination, 13 entrance, while as many as 347 have passed no recognised examination. Among the assistants 359 out of 548 have passed no examination whatsoever." It was, therefore decided that none should be employed as teachers who did not pass their middle school examination and to attract good men, ~~no~~ ^{on R.} there should salaries less than Rs. 10 per mensem given to head teachers of schools.

The question of the deterioration which gradually came about in the mental capacity of village school teachers was discussed by Dr. Steelpnagel. The cause of stagnation of intellect in village school teachers seemed to be that they were cut off from intercourse with educated men having no opportunities of exercising thought upon any literary or political subject. The first step towards their improvement was to diminish the isolation and to give them food for thought. One way of effecting this was to organise monthly or quarterly teachers' meetings in every Tahsil at which essays were read and debates arranged in the presence of the District Inspector.

The reduction in numbers in the Primary schools in 1887 was due to the new scale of fees. Not only was the fee higher than was formerly the case, but the exemptions from payment on the ground that boys were children of agriculturists were much fewer than before. An agriculturist for purposes of the Code was now defined to be a person who had no source of income but agriculture.

By this time almost all the recommendations of the Education Commission had been carried into effect so far as circumstances allowed. A special report explaining fully the measures that had been taken was submitted to the Government of India in a tabulated statement.

In 1887 the Director of Public Instruction complained of the want of due interest in educational matters on the part of the majority of the Local Bodies of the Province. The Lieutenant Governor thought that some schemes should be devised by which the educational labours of each Local Body should be yearly brought to the notice of the District officer and the Commissioner of the Division. A statement was then prepared containing the following information.

- (a) The number of schools of each class maintained by the Local Body and the number of scholars.
- (b) the income of the Local Body during the year in question.
- (c) The expenditure which should have been incurred on education under the principles laid down in Notification Nos. 126 and 127 of 24th January, 1888, in accordance with which Government may require District Boards to spend 25 per cent. of their annual income and Municipal Committees to spend 10 per cent. of their annual income on education over and above grants made to them by Government or another Local Body, and their annual income from education fees.

From this statement it was shown how far each Body discharged its duty in educational matters. The District Inspectors and Inspectors were held strictly responsible for immediately re-

porting to the Director any instance in which any Local Body might spend less than the proposed minimum and the Director after due communication with the Local Body concerned and the Commissioner of the Division, had to lay (if necessary) the matter before Government for orders.

There were some difficulties in reconciling the past and present expenditure of Local Bodies on education owing to the classification of schools and departments of schools during the past three years. It was clearly laid down by Government that each District Committee or District Board must, whenever it is required to do so by Government, provide such a minimum sum annually for expenditure on education, exclusive of charges for the construction and maintenance of buildings, as shall be equal to the total of :—

(a) all grants made to the Committee or Board by Government, and all contributions received from the Municipal Committee for the purpose ;

(b) the annual income of the Committee or Board from education fees ;

(c) twenty-five per cent. of the annual income of the District fund and ten per cent. of the Municipal Fund excluding education fees and grants from Government and Municipalities (*Vide Punjab Education Reports 1888-89, page 9*).

It was further decided that, of the sum which each District Board may be required to provide

annually for education, such portion shall, whenever the Government may so direct, be set apart for expenditure on Primary education, as shall not be less than the total of—

(a) all Government and Municipal grants for, and all fees from, that class of instruction ; and

(b) three-fifths of the District Fund income represented by item (c) in the preceding rule.

Out of the measures that were carried out in accordance with the recommendations of the Education Commission and the orders of the Government of India, one was the recognition of the principle that the efforts of the state should be specially directed to Primary education. It was considered that the training of teachers for Primary Schools and the provision for the inspection of these institutions should be everywhere improved, and that the expenses of such measures should be borne by Government. An annual grant used to be henceforth made to Local Bodies, chiefly in the form of a remission of certain charges which they had, hitherto borne, on the condition of their giving an equivalent contribution from Local funds for the establishment of new schools. In 1886-87 an annual contribution exceeding a lakh of rupees was provided by the Local Government for the extension and improvement of Primary education. Charges aggregating hitherto paid from District funds, on account of the cost of subordinate inspection and training institutions, were now transferred to Government. On the other hand, certain charges

hitherto paid by Government for scholarships, amounting to nearly Rs. 18,000 were transferred to District Boards.

This arrangement resulted in a satisfactory increase in the number of Primary schools for boys and a large and growing improvement in the efficiency of these institutions. There was a considered increase also in the number of boys, though the admission of non-agriculturists to the Lower Primary Department received a severe check through the imposition in their case of higher rates of fees. But this check was of a temporary character since the fees were still small.

The courses of studies in Primary Schools both for boys and girl were revised and simplified in 1890 as recommended by the Commission. Mensuration now formed a part of the curriculum in Primary Vernacular Schools for boys and the native system of arithmetic and accounts were taught in schools specially intended for the trading community. Arithmetic was taught in both Normal and Primary schools, in accordance with a new manual of a highly practical character, in which the best features of the native system were incorporated.

Zamindari schools were set on foot for the special benefit of those members of the agricultural classes who worked in the fields with their own hands. They were organised on the half-time system, and were closed altogether during harvest. The instruction was of the simplest character, and arithmetic was wholly confined to native methods. But these schools began to grow unpopular in 1892.

Arrangements were made in 1890 to establish Gurmukhi branch schools, where there was a considerable number of Sikh residents, and a desire for instruction in Punjabi was found to exist. The curriculum of these schools was so arranged that boys, on the completion of the course, were able to join the Upper Primary Department of an ordinary Board School. But the scheme collapsed early in 1892 since it was merely one of those pseudo-nationalist ideas from a few individuals which woke no sympathy from the mass of the people.

All these primary schools formerly under the Department, with the exception of the model or practising schools attached to training institutions, were henceforth transferred to the management of Local Bodies and rules were laid down with a view to afford every encouragement to their conversion.

Besides the ordinary Departmental Agency, the District Civil Officers were expected to use their influence for the promotion of education and to visit the schools of their districts, and this was done very heartily by many, to the advantage of the cause of public instruction. Tahsildars and Naib-Tahsildars in particular, were required to take an interest in the schools within their jurisdiction. But these visits were, in most cases, brief and perfunctory. The District Inspectors had to visit these schools twice a year and were regarded as the Local Supervisional Agents on whom the efficiency and progress of the schools chiefly depended. They were mostly

picked men. By 1900 specific rules were laid down for the Inspecting officers for the visitation and inspection of these schools. The upper primary examination was now the only individual test applied by inspecting officers in Primary Schools and Departments for native boys. The primary course of instruction extended over five years, divided into two stages, called Lower Primary and Upper Primary. The Lower Primary stage covered three years and the Upper Primary two years ; the Upper Primary examination was held on the completion of the whole Primary course of five years . Previous to 1898, an examination was also held at the end of the Lower Primary Course.

There was thus but one examination at the finishing stage of a large majority of the scholars and the unanimous opinion was that this examination was necessary. The Primary classes below the highest were still examined by the collective method. In addition to the Primary schools, the inspecting officers were required to visit the indigenous schools for the assessment of annual grant to these schools in accordance with the provisions of the Punjab Education Code.

Up to the year 1899 figures of the number of Primary Schools and the scholars have been very fluctuating owing to various causes. In fact that period was one transitional stage of the development of popular education in the Province when Primary education began to be regarded as an essential feature for the uplift and enlightenment of the

ignorant people. It was in that sense alone, that the Education Department began to be called the ' People's Department ' since it aimed at imparting instruction to the public and the Head of the Department was named Director of Public Instruction.

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (1900—1920).

The twentieth century has so far covered only about three decades during which time the progress of mass education has been so rapid, the speed so accelerating and the amount and extent of educational activities in that direction so enormous that we can only speak of its earlier and later stages as constituting a contrast. It dawned, an era of advancement and civilisation in the Province with the growth of political consciousness. The whole angle of vision has changed and the outlook transformed. All who are in any way interested in bettering India have realized that village education is the only solution of the problem of political emancipation.

It would be better to trace out the progress of Primary education in some detail:—

The number of Primary schools rose from 2339 to 2367 or by 28 in 1901. This increase was distributed over all classes of schools—2 Board, 22 Aided and 4 unaided. There was a fall in the number of Zamindari schools and in the attendance. This was due to the fact that the Zamindari schools did not fulfil the object with which they were started and consequently failed to gain the approbation of the public. The Director pointed out that these schools could not flourish in the presence of the ordinary

Primary schools and that their reconstruction on different lines had to be considered. There was also a reduction in the number of indigenous and elementary schools examined for grants, due to the instability of these schools, to a reduction in the rates and to adverse times. The Educational Conference recommended the revision of the whole system of Primary education. The following departmental measures were adopted in 1902 to improve the situation.—

(a) The number of Assistant Inspectors attached to the Delhi and Jullundhar circles was raised from 1 to 2 in each circle ; and the status of the Personal Assistant to the Inspector, Multan circle, was raised to that of an Assistant Inspector.

(b) Introduction of elementary agriculture, practical mensuration, and the teaching of Land Records arranged for in Government and Board schools.

(c) A revised syllabus of object lessons, with detailed instructions for teaching, was issued.

(d) A beginning was made in school singing.

(e) Several volumes of the Punjab Literary series were issued by the Text-Book Committee.

(f) Inter-school Rules were revised as regards Leaving Certificates.

(g) The Lower Primary and Infant examination were no longer held by Inspecting officers ; this enabled them to look more closely into organization, discipline, and management of schools.

(h) Kindergarten teaching was introduced into Normal schools.

(i) Magic lantern readings were introduced.

(j) Rs. 8 was fixed as the minimum pay of a male or female certificated teacher.

(k) The supervision of the School Branch Post Offices was transferred from the District Inspectors to the Postal Department.

By the year 1903, the work of the District Inspecting Agency had been materially strengthened by the appointment of Assistant District Inspectors. The fixed monthly travelling allowance of Rs. 20 to District Inspectors was increased to Rs. 30 per mensem. All District Inspectors were provided with small tents for use during the touring season, and an annual allowance of Rs. 75 was granted for the carriage of their tents. The total expenditure on Direction and Inspection during the year amounted to Rs. 2,07,563 compared with Rs. 1,99,467 of the previous years. Of this expenditure Rs. 1,87,042 was met from Provincial Revenues, Rs. 17,899 from District Funds, and Rs. 2,622 from Municipal Funds.

With a view to arrive at a fair estimate of the number of boys who did not continue their studies

beyond the Primary stage, a comparison was made in 1903, of the numbers in the first Middle class and of those who passed the Upper Primary Examination in the previous year. Thus, of 5,825 boys who passed from vernacular schools, 3,116 joined the middle department, so that about 47 per cent. presumably took up their hereditary callings ; while of 3,447 boys who passed from Anglo-vernacular schools, 2,929 continued their studies, leaving a small percentage of 15 who stopped at the Primary stage. Taking both classes together, about 34 per cent of the the boys discontinued their studies after passing the Primary Examination the larger majority continuing with a view to more advanced education.

The Government of India ruled in 1904 that in the annual Provincial Reports on Education prominence should be given to the safeguards adopted and the tests applied to secure that the local inspections of Primary schools should be efficiently and honestly carried out. In the Punjab no grant-in-aid was awarded by any officer lower in status than an Inspector of Schools. In the scheme of inspection framed for the province there were 6 Inspectors of schools, 11 Assistant Inspectors, 27 District Inspectors and 24 Assistant District Inspectors in addition to two Inspectresses of Schools, each with an Assistant. The District Inspectors and their Assistants were henceforth regarded as the agents and advisers of the officers in charge of the districts and their work began to be regularly supervised and checked by the Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors.

An interesting feature for the year 1904 was that an educational exhibition was for the first time held at Lahore during the year and was opened free to the public. A most useful conference was also held at Lahore in the course of the year at which a number of important questions were discussed by officers of the Educational Department. Some of their recommendations bore fruit, and notably in the starting of evening continuation classes and in the stimulus given to girl's education both by encouraging teacher's wives and widows to open girls' schools and otherwise.

A great impetus was given to Primary education from 1905 to 1908. The increase in the number of scholars in public institutions was attained to some extent by a reduction (not commensurate with that increase) in the numbers educated at private institutions of an elementary character. It may be noted that this encouragement given by Government to Primary education was not intended to achieve its end by means of a reduction of private effort in the same direction. The extension of the rural form of education is a matter for satisfaction and it was hoped that it might be found possible to render the teaching in Primary schools more practical by conveying it more fully than at present in the dialects spoken by the children themselves. It was possible that as a result of the labours of the Decentralisation Commission of 1907, the supervision of primary education might become less centralized than before and that the local authorities and the people them-

selves might be induced to take a great interest in the education of the masses by being given a greater voice in the direction and control of schools. No severe change could be made until the results of the Commission were known, though some small steps were taken by the Local Government in the direction indicated. The Director of Public Instruction pointed out that the large development of primary education presented the difficulty of obtaining trained teachers for these schools.

A scheme was devised in 1908 to establish rural schools. A rural school was considered to be compromise between the Zamindari and the Primary school. The distinguishing features of the new course were the omission of Persian and the inclusion of the native systems of accounts. There was a satisfactory increase in the number of schools examined for grants. In the *maktab*s and *pathshalas* writing was well taught, reading and arithmetic only moderately. These schools, although primitive, were a valuable adjunct to the Board school system. The extension of their number was facilitated by the simple conditions under which grants could be earned.

The establishment of Gurmukhi branch schools and classes was authorised by the Education Code, the scholars in such classes being taught both Punjabi and Urdu upto the standard of the third lower Primary class. These schools did not make any appreciable progress (only 42 in all).

Schools for low-caste children were also started. There was a marked increase in number of these schools and scholars by the year 1908 : these schools were mainly maintained by missionary societies. The system of placing teachers of village schools in charge of post offices met with general approval ; 1,175 teachers were so employed. The gain to the teacher's pay and position compensated for any interruption to his work which was caused by his postal duties.

The Royal Decentralisation Commission in dealing with the relations of rural boards to education expressed the view that departmental efficiency must give way to the education of the people in self-government, and that the control and management of Primary schools must be more and more that of Local boards and village *Panchayats* and less and less that of the Government Department. Boards should, in the opinion of the Royal Commission, maintain their own inspecting staff, while a separate inspection on behalf of Government was necessary in order that Government might be informed of the character and working of the institutions and be able to interfere in case reform was called for. The Commission, however, recognised that rural boards could not take much interest in the control and management of schools when they found their discretion limited in every direction by the prescriptions of Provincial Educational Codes. Many considered that the sacrifice of educational efficiency on the altar of local self-government was a mistake. But the *via media* lay in the Commis-

sion's suggestions that rural Boards should, as far as possible, promote education by grants-in-aid to private institutions rather than through Board schools. The developments were chiefly in the latter direction. What was required was to stimulate in rural tracts private enterprise in the promotion of Primary education. Missionary and religious Bodies did their share in large towns. In particular localities, local enterprise was ready enough to raise subscriptions to build and start schools which were made over to the District Boards for management.

It was in 1909 that a re-arrangement of the jurisdictions allotted to Inspectors was carried out. The "circle" as a separate jurisdiction was abolished, and the sphere of authority of an Inspector was made conterminous with a Commissioner's Division. The object of the change was to bring the Departmental Inspecting staff into closer touch with the civil authorities, and to make it possible for the Commission and Inspector of Schools to co-operate in the educational administration of a Division.

Henceforth the future of Primary education in rural areas rested with the District Boards. Imperial and provincial grants were placed at the disposal of Commissioners of divisions to distribute among these Bodies, for the purpose of starting new schools and augmenting teachers' salaries; these grants defrayed nearly half of the expenditure in Board primary schools. Grants-in-aid to elementary

schools were still assessed by the Inspector and his assistants : the Department laid down curricula and certain disciplinary and general rules for the whole province to check the free hand of the Boards. It was felt that the special features of the rural scheme of studies, *viz.*, practical instruction in *hundis*, *bahikhata*, the native system of accounts etc., were becoming more widely appreciated ; but that the average teacher was unable for lack of training or aptitude to instruct efficiently in these subjects. Similarly with object lessons and drawing. Untrained teachers, who formed a large part of the teaching staff, were unable to go beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. The teaching of mensuration was made more practical by the appointment of itinerant patwari to visit schools. But any reform of an educational system which does not take account of the teacher's capabilities is often worse than useless.

In 1910, the question of compulsory education was exhaustively considered by Government in connection with Mr. Gokhale's Bill. The opinions received, which were representative of every class, made it overwhelmingly clear that, whatever the case elsewhere, the Punjab at least was not yet ready for so drastic a change. The quinquennium report ending the year 1912 bears ample testimony to this situation. Apart from the cost, which was well nigh prohibitive, there was the difficulty that the Municipal Committees, upon whom the success of the scheme in towns largely depended, were reported to be apathetic in regard to the elementary

education of the masses. Even the larger Committees were said to make no serious effort to deal with the problem. Though District Boards had been more liberal, their expenditure on primary schools showed an increase of 47 per cent ; they were seriously handicapped by inadequate building, an insufficient supply of good teachers, and the innate prejudice of the cultivator against education. This situation of the Local Bodies was the greatest obstacle to compulsory education. It is true that Mr. Godley discerned a change in the popular attitude towards education, which was specially noticeable in the Canal Colonies, and that throughout the province there were signs of awakening interest such as the increase in the number of agriculturist children at school. This was no doubt due to the greater prosperity of the agricultural classes. More men had raised themselves to the position of *safed posh* (wearers of clean clothes) who naturally desired that their sons should be educated to maintain and, if possible raise their status. But with all this change of attitude it was too early to say that education was in any sense of the word popular with the zamindar, and it could hardly be so till there was an economic need for it. Hitherto the difficulty had been to persuade the cultivator that education was not actually an economic disability. Accordingly a scheme providing for the gradual increase in the number of schools by 87 per cent. had been prepared and was submitted to the Government of India in 1911. The scheme also included proportionate additions to the training

institutions and the inspecting staff. Sir Louis Dane attached particular importance to the former as he believed that educational progress must largely depend on the possibility of supplying a sufficient number of good teachers. The difficulty of securing the services of trained teachers retarded the development of primary education.

An important step forward was taken in 1910-11 by the introduction of a system of proportioning the grants made to District Boards for the extension of Primary education on the basis of teacher's salaries. The imperial and provincial grants had hitherto been distributed on rough-and-ready methods, lump sums being handed over to the Boards according to an estimate of their probable requirements, but without any guarantee that payments on the same scale would continue. The Government undertook to defray two-thirds of the salary of every qualified teacher in a vernacular school, plus all contributions made by the Boards to teachers' provident funds and half the cost of school repairs ; provided a teacher for whom a salary grant was claimed should be in receipt of a minimum salary of Rs. 15 as a head teacher and of Rs. 12 as an assistant. In addition special recurring grants were made for backward districts and grants were also given for capital expenditure on buildings.

A further step towards free primary education was taken in 1914 by raising the authorised proportion of non-agriculturist pupils who could be exempted from fees on account of poverty to 25 per cent. of the total number.

One obstacle of long standing to the extension of primary education among agriculturists had been the difficulty of adopting it to the pupils' environment *i.e.*, the school withdrew him from rural occupation and the ordinary life of village children, and thus convert him into an artificial product—'a hot-house plant.' A common criticism, for instance was that setting aside the question whether a boy could be spared from field work schooling actually unfitted him for work.

It was the year 1916 when a change in the system of distributing grants to Local Bodies for the extension of vernacular education was introduced. The variable grants formerly assessed from year to year on the basis of salary payments and other local expenditure were converted into fixed grants. With regard to new grants from Provincial revenues the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council decided the amount to be allotted for the opening of Vernacular schools by Local Bodies and this sum was subsequently distributed to the Boards most in need of assistance, at the rate of Rs. 200 for each boy's school opened and Rs. 150 for each girl's school, subject, of course, to the sanctioned allotment not being exceeded.

The question of financing primary education never received the attention which its importance deserved. Much had been said about schemes and programmes; too little about the exact means of carrying them into effect.

Systematic extension of primary education was impracticable without an assurance of a continuously expanding provision of funds, from one quarter or another. Experience showed that local resources in the Punjab were unequal to the task, and no definite liability had hitherto been assumed in the case of Provincial Revenues. The imposition of school-rates such as are levied in England from town people as well as owners and tenants of agricultural land had not even been suggested. The result was that extension had been virtually dependent on occasional and irregular doles from the Government of India. These doles accomplished much at the time, although the unexpected receipt of large sums of money was not favourable to economical spending. But the progress was only by fits and starts ; whereas it was steady development, on lines planned beforehand with a view to the funds available which was likely to achieve the most solid and permanent results. So long as there was no pledge that a regular supply of money would be forth-coming for bringing new schools into existence, the drawing up of imaginary programmes of extension based on imaginary finance was an occupation which lacked practicability.

Experiments continued to be made in the direction of abridging the time spent in school, so as to allow the children to help in home avocations. It appeared that parents and teachers being wedded to their former habits did not desire a change and the teachers in particular were lacking as most of them are perhaps even to-day, in

the qualities of punctuality and alertness which were needed in order to render the scheme a success. The under staffing of schools was another obstacle. It was felt that the question of the adoption of village schools to the needs of the rural population was doubtless a most important problem in connection with primary education. The difficulty, however, lay not in devising suitable time-tables but in overcoming the village school masters' traditional predilection for a whole day school.

The code prescribed five-hours' school time at the longest, but to village school masters, accustomed all their life to the leisurely and unmethedical work of a whole-day school, a five-hours' day seemed preposterous, especially as it required, *inter alia*, carefully thinking out every day's plan of work and preparing every day's lessons at home in advance; and it also demanded a concentration of attention throughout the school time which the teachers seldom vouchsafed to their work except for a few days just before the annual inspection.

A Committee was appointed in 1917 to revise the system of grant-in-aid for vernacular education to Local Bodies. Enhanced grants for elementary schools were offered in order to tempt *Maktab*s and *mullah* schools and other institutions of a religious character to add some instruction in secular subjects to their curricula and thus to come into the educational system. The change, however, failed in its object.

The questions of what Mr. Wyatt called "volatile and stagnant infants" was taken up in 1917 and it was discovered that there must be something wrong with a system under which nearly 161,000 children were found in the infant class, while the aggregate attendance in the two lowest schools classes, 228,649 (this figure included girls) was considerably greater than half of the total attendance at educational institutions of all kinds, schools and colleges, in the Province. This phenomenon was not merely an incident due to the rapid growth of education, as very similar proportions were found to have existed for the previous ten years. Various reasons were assigned and remedies suggested in the *Annual Report of Education, for the year 1916-17* page 27.

In July 1917 the Local Government issued a circular on the subject of vernacular education in District Board areas, in which it pointed out the need for a consistent policy for the improvement and expansion of rural education, outlined such a policy and called for an educational survey of each district in the Punjab. The survey was completed in March 1918 and formed the basis of a comprehensive scheme which had been introduced during that year.

As an outcome of the July letter, a Committee on District Board Educational Finance was appointed by Government and met in October 1917 under the Chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. P. J. Fagan, C.S.I. Financial Commissioner. The recommendations of this Committee were of great importance out of

which those relating to Primary education are summarized as below :—

(a) That the improvement and expansion of education in rural areas should proceed in accordance with definite five-year programmes administratively sanctioned by District Boards.

(b) That Government should meet a fixed proportion to vary in accordance with the financial resources of each District Board.

(c) That the status of District Inspectors should be assimilated to that of Assistant Inspectors.

Another important feature of the year was the introduction of a Bill for compulsory Primary Education which was published in October 1917 for opinion. Some of the Local Bodies such as a Lahore and Multan Municipal Committees conducted enquiries with a view to the adoption of such a measure if the Bill passed into law.

With a view to have a thorough supervision of Primary schools the system of placing Assistant District Inspectors in direct charge of Tahsils was more widely extended which proved to be very satisfactory.

The recommendations of the Committee, about grant-in-aid system were accepted, by Government. The responsibilities of Municipal Boards in the

matter of education were much increased till the introduction of compulsory Primary education in those areas. Hitherto, they were largely confined to the payment of grants to aided Primary Departments according to rigid rules. The Local Bodies could not as yet be said to be awake to their responsibilities ; nor did they show any initiative in the direction of opening new municipal schools, or providing the existing schools with better accommodation.

The scheme for the expansion and improvement of vernacular education was further initiated in a circular letter issued to Commissioners in July 1917 in which the Local Government outlined its policy as follows :—

“ Ultimately Board schools should be established at every centre where an average attendance of not less than fifty children may be expected ; provided that a distance of two miles by the nearest route should ordinarily intervene between two Board schools ” (*vide* Punjab Education Report 1917-18, page 13).

The year 1918-19 was marked by the adoption of a vigorous forward policy in the matter of vernacular education. A reference has already been made about the initiation of the scheme for the expansion of education in rural areas, and the steps taken to ascertain the needs of the province by means of an educational survey, and of the system of five-year programme. Some important

alterations were made in the educational systems of the province as below.

(a) The school classes were henceforth to be numbered from I to X. (This was in accordance with the recommendations of the Directors' Conference of 1917).

(b) Classes I to IV were to form the primary department, V—VIII the middle department, and IX and X the high department.

This change involved the reduction of the standard of primary school from five to four classes. The then Director of Public Instruction justified this measure on the ground that about one-third of the rural schools did not reach above the third primary standard and such schools would add a fourth year to their course. Of the remainder nearly half were single-teacher schools, and it was the unsuccessful attempt of single teachers to cope with five classes which was largely responsible for the stagnation of pupils in the first two classes and for the other unsatisfactory features of the primary schools. It was decided that henceforth no teacher would be entrusted with more than four classes or forty pupils.

The distinction between upper and lower primary schools and the term elementary school was abolished in 1919 and it was decided that now there would be one standard primary school containing four classes. The new primary school provided exactly the minimum education that may be prescribed under the new Compulsory Education Act.

It was observed that while these changes improved the condition of the ordinary village school the opportunity was also taken to raise the standard of education in rural areas by the institution of a new class of school the Lower Middle school formed by addition of the fifth and sixth (middle) classes to all large adequately staffed primary schools. This class of school was thought to be popular as it might develop into a full Middle school.

Another important concomitant change was the postponement of the teaching of English to the middle department i.e., the fifth class, in all Government and Board schools. This step was taken in order to overcome the handicap from which rural boys suffered in the matter of secondary education. Hitherto, English had been commenced in the fourth primary class with the result that boys starting their education in a vernacular school had to spend an extra year, when going into Anglo Vernacular school, in a 'Junior special class' learning English which their more fortunate fellow pupils had learnt in the fourth and fifth classes.

Latitude was given to commence English at an earlier stage for schools catering for the more highly educated classes under private management. With all this concession the change met with some opposition, the principal argument of the critics being a probable deterioration in the standard of Matriculation English. But the opposition was repudiated on two grounds.

(a) In view of the better grounding in the vernacular provided in the Primary school by the elimination of English additional periods were made available for this subject in the middle department, and educational experience showed that a shorter concentrated study of a foreign language produced better results than a longer less intensive course.

(b) There was incidentally a saving to school fees to parents under the new arrangement and in the cost of English staff to school managers.

The revised scheme was adopted by most of the schools which formed a uniform standard of a primary school or primary department of a secondary school.

The Lahore and Amritsar Municipal Committees interested themselves in reorganising elementary education in these towns in 1919 as a preliminary to applying the Punjab Primary Education Act. Too rapid an adoption of the principle of compulsion in education was neither to be expected nor desired. It was urged, however, to increase the number of schools with a view to pave the way to the application of the full provision of the Act. The new Primary schools opened by the Local Boards in pursuance of the programmes of expansion, numbered 254.

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION AFTER ‘THE REFORMS’.

This period may be called ‘a period of transition’ from the old to the reformed regime. The Report on the progress of education in the Punjab for the year 1920-21 is only a description of the educational system of the province as it existed. Now the new councils came into being, and education, as a transferred subject, came under the control of a Minister, responsible to the Legislative Council of the Punjab. During the year 1920, the work of the Department was not only to develop and expand the provision of education on lines previously determined, but to overhaul its machinery to meet new and changing conditions. A substantial measure of decentralisation had been introduced and means of effecting more economical working explored.

In primary education the progress made during the year was substantial, though uneven.

The inception of the new political reforms in 1920 is a landmark in the history of Punjab education. Education as already referred, came under the control of a Minister who was responsible to the Punjab Legislative Council; while the latter body controlled the finance, voting such grants for its

development as it thought to and could afford. Only a small part of the subject, that concerned with the education of Europeans, was reserved and was, therefore, placed under the control of a 'Member' of His Excellency the Governor's Council. It is interesting to note that the first Minister for Education was the Hon'ble Sir Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Khan Bahadur ; and first Director of Public Instruction under the new regime was Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.E.S. He reviewed the situation and recorded his opinion on page 7 of the Report for 1920-21 as below :—

“ It may not perhaps be unfitting for the writer of this report, who is a new-comer to the province and had but a few week's service under the old order, to say a few words on the position of education at the time when it became a transferred subject. During the last few years, mainly owing to the initiative and energy of Mr. Richey, late Director of Public Instruction, a bold scheme for the expansion and improvement of vernacular education in rural areas was formulated. By this means, for the first time, this important branch of education has been developed in accordance with a pre-arranged plan. Efforts have also been made to relieve the monotony of a purely literary course and to provide facilities for more practical forms of training by the introduction of subjects such as agriculture, manual training, drawing and clerical training in the ordinary curriculum. ” And for that reason the Minister for Education took

an early opportunity of explaining to the council what was to be the watch-word of his policy.

“ Government intends to pursue an educational policy which is national, economical and makes for efficiency.”

Much has been said on and about national education, much remains to be done to achieve that object in its widest and its best sense, namely, the provision of an education most suited to the needs of the people and to the conditions in which they live. It is again the most difficult task in education to maintain a just balance between the claims of efficiency and economy ; between the claims of quality and quantity ; between the claims of rural and urban areas ; and between the main branches of the educational system. Sir George Anderson wrote. “ Indifferent schools and indifferent teaching may well create a reaction against what all desire ; and a disturbing feature of the present situation is that the increase in attendance by no means corresponds with the increase in expenditure and in the number of schools. Exaggerated attention to the requirements of the towns may result in an unhealthy congestion alongside of disheartening apathy. Educational oases have but little value. A ‘ model ’ school tends to reduce its own standard rather than to raise the level of those around it. As the speed of a fleet is regulated by the slowest ships of that fleet, so are educational standards regulated, in the main, by those of the weaker institutions.”

It is interesting to note that even in its first session, practically every branch of education excited the keen interest of the Legislative Council. The council showed a sincere anxiety to improve the lot of the teacher and to substitute a more practical form of training for the somewhat exaggerated literary instruction then in force.

Another important feature of the year 1920 was that the Report of the Calcutta University Commission published in 1919, was keenly discussed. It is possible that the primary object of the Commission was to stimulate a study of educational principles rather than to formulate definite recommendations of development but a perusal of the Report enables the reader to realise how difficult and complicated, but yet vital, is the subject of education. The main difficulty and complexity in devising a system of education is that its success depends chiefly upon conditions which are themselves remote from education, but are in turn capable of being influenced by it. Such conditions include the atmosphere of the home, the existence of poverty, the prevalence of disease, the limited prospects of employment, the ferment of new political and social ideals. A system of education, however, well devised, can not of itself remove poverty; but its bias may be in the direction of encouraging the educated classes to take a wider view of the opportunities which lie before the younger generation and of providing the children of the less fortunate classes with suitable forms of practical training. Again,

in the political and religious spheres, education is always a force but not always a remedy. At times, it can not but weaken, even destroy, old-time beliefs without providing a substitute; but it can become a remedy by training the students to examine problems with a sober and independent judgment.

The third feature of the year, 1920 was the Non-Co-operation Movement. A few institutions cut all connections with the Government system of education. Some others bowed before the storm, for a brief period, but soon resumed work.

The central organisation of the Department was radically changed from October 1920. In addition to other posts, the post of Inspector of Vernacular Education was created, to survey the situation of the province for vernacular education.

It is interesting to represent graphically the progress achieved during the past twenty years, and also the expenditure on primary schools for boys and girls. This shows a rapid expansion of primary education in the province.

“The figures for 1900-1901, include figures for the Delhi and North-West Frontier Provinces, and those for the year 1901-1902 to 1911-1912 include figures for the Delhi Provinces.”

Expenditure on Primary schools for boys and girls.

The process of conversion and absorption of these schools was continued and the five-years programme of expansion was followed throughout the province. The progress achieved from 1891 to 1923 is shown on the opposite page.

The year 1922-23 was a time of harvest when the seed that was sown some years back by the formulation of the five-year programme for the expansion and improvement of vernacular education had grown to ripening. The main efforts of educational workers were thus devoted to the reaping of the harvest and to ensuring that the abundant crop should not run to waste. The increase in the number of pupils was an achievement of great encouragement to all interested in education; but still more inspiring than this increase, was the progress made in 1923 towards removing the two defects in the system. Firstly the percentage of pupils at school to the total population, a matter which had caused grave disappointment in the past, had advanced from 3.0 to 3.75 during that year. The comparative figures for the past few years are given below:—

	For both boys and girls	For boys alone		Boys & girls	Boys.
1915-16	2.4	3.66	1919-20	2.6	4.14
1916-17	2.4	3.78	1920-21	2.7	4.26
1917-18	2.4	3.72	1921-22	3.0	4.77
1918-19	2.4	3.78	1922-23	3.75	6.04

Secondly there was the predominance of the first class in respect to numbers.

At the end of 1921-22 it was found that there were 225,517 pupils in the first, 91,245 in the second, 69,280 in the third, and 50,496 in the fourth. It was

therefore observed that a very large proportion of the 225,517 pupils either made very slow progress or (what was more likely) never proceeded beyond that class and thus never approached even the lowest standard of literacy. It is not only extravagant to spend public money on the so-called instruction of pupils who make such dispiriting progress, but it is even damaging to do so as instruction of this nature can do but little towards breaking down that illiteracy of the masses, which even at present presents so serious an obstacle to the moral, economic and political advance of the province.

Another sad aspect of this unfortunate state of affairs was that many a parent became so disheartened by the lack of progress on the part of his children that, not unnaturally, he removed them from school altogether and lost all confidence in the value of education. This unfortunate predominance of the first class, therefore stiffened the back of the opposition to education. It will be interesting to find the comparative figures of the primary classes for the quinquennium ending the year 1923 as under :

Year.	First Class.	2nd class.	3rd class.	4th class.
1919-20	201,330	69,045	52,092	45,319
1920-21	207,366	81,625	58,889	46,465
1921-22	225,517	91,245	69,280	50,496
1922-23	313,608	99,899	75,402	57,221

This meant that only 28 per cent. of the boys admitted to the first infant class could achieve literacy. Steps were taken to remove this fatal defect in the system. The inspecting staff became ever vigilant in the matter which they regarded as perhaps the most important of their duties. Another valuable asset in facing this problem was the change whereby promotions from the fourth class were now regulated by the inspecting staff instead of by the teachers themselves. This change was originally introduced as a measure to remove the temptations to teachers of inflicting petty extortions on the pupils at the time of their promotion examinations. In this respect there had been salutary results, but the innovation was specially useful in affording to Inspectors an opportunity every year of reviewing the progress of each school. Both the Inspectors and teachers felt that a mere increase in numbers was of little value unless it was accompanied by a satisfactory outturn of literates from the fourth class. The reports received showed an astonishing variation in the progress of individual schools. It often happened that, in two neighbouring schools, the one had a well-attended and efficient fourth class, while the other had done little beyond swelling the number of unsatisfactory pupils in the first class. The success of the former proved that the problem, though difficult, was by no means insoluble ; and the failure of the latter emphasised the fact that a lack of personality, sympathy and efficiency on the part of the teachers was fatal to progress. This experience showed that any reduction in the effi-

ciency or in the number of inspecting staff would be opposed to an economical development of the educational system.

The most potent means of reducing the predominance of the first class was the improvement of teaching which should render the progress of the pupils more rapid and should therefore go far to meet the opposition of dispirited parents. The best means of improving teaching was the substitution of multi-teacher for single-teacher schools. Little could be expected from a teacher who was grappling single-handed with four classes; nor could he be blamed unduly for bending before his difficult task and limiting his attention to the few brighter boys of his school. The problem was thus two fold.

(a) To increase the numbers in uneconomically small schools and failing that, to close those schools.

(b) To provide additional staff required in schools where attendance had largely been increased. This could not easily be done due to shortage in the supply of trained teachers.

The most exhilarating feature of the year 1923 was the comparatively uniform advance made by all districts of the province. This was due to the following causes :—

(a) The inspecting staff worked with earnestness and enthusiasm.

(b) The Local Bodies, though with some unfortunate exceptions, grappled with their difficulties with zeal and generosity.

(c) The cordial relations and the spirit of co-operation that existed between Inspectors and public authorities.

(d) The year was a time of transition replete with opportunities for friction between Government officers and Local Bodies, but good sense and enthusiasm for the work usually prevailed.

(e) The Legislative Council continued to show its steadfast interest in educational advancement and, in spite of straitened finances, showed generosity and forbearance.

(f) General awakening and the keen desire for education especially in rural areas. Parents also realised that good education could only be gained by regular attendance at school.

(g) There were also signs of a realisation not merely of the importance of education, but also of its difficulties. A realisation of difficulties was the most essential step towards their removal.

The policy for the new year was therefore the elimination of one-teacher school and the consolidation of the remarkable advance made in the past few years. The Government declared that the provision of an adequate staff of teachers should be the first charge against the educational resources of Local Bodies. The time had now come to cry a halt to the multiplication of uneconomically small schools.

NUMBER OF PUPILS IN VERNACULAR
MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

Another great danger was lest the bulk of the ever increasing numbers should only swell the number of those volatile pupils who regarded a school as a kind of rest-house to which they could resort at those times and seasons which were convenient to them. The removal of illiteracy rather than the admission of pupils was the real need of the hour.

By this time the introduction of compulsion had come within the range of practical politics. It was urged that the *gradual* introduction of compulsion was the most effective and practical means of ensuring that the time and money spent on vernacular education were spent to the best advantage. The following areas enforced compulsion.

(a) *Municipal areas.*

- (1) Multan.
- (2) Lahore.
- (3) Okara in the Montgomery District.
- (4) Tandialanwala in the Lyallpur District.
- (5) Gojra in the Lyallpur District.
- (6) Alipur in the Muzaffargarh District.
- (7) Shujabad in the Multan District.
- (8) Jampur in the Dera Ghazi Khan District.

(b) *Rural areas* :—

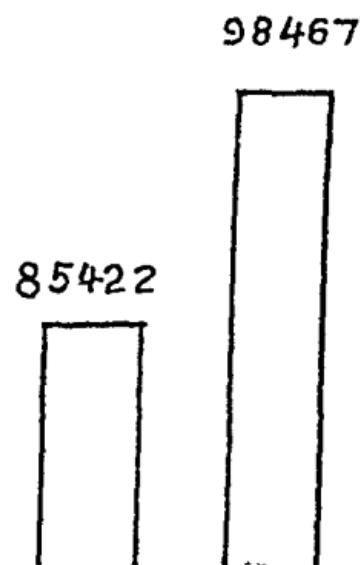
- (1) Lyallpur District—59 school areas.
- (2) Montgomery District—20 school areas
- (3) Rohtak District—6 school areas.
- (4) Dera Ghazi Khan District—1 school area.

Total 86 school areas

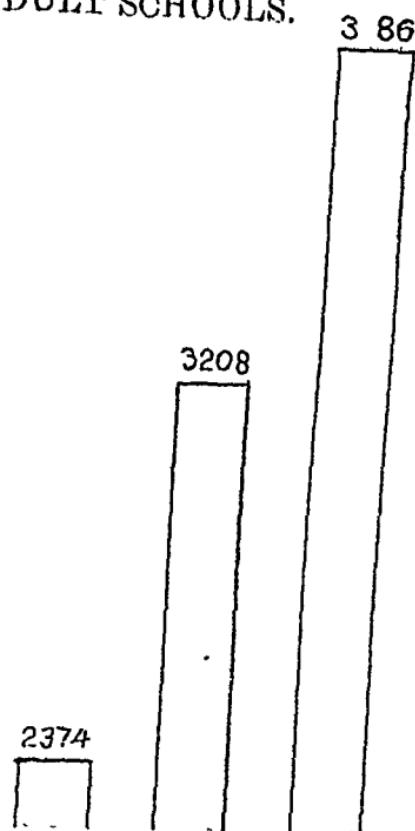
The Education of Adults :—

Many pupils who were literate at the time of leaving school, soon relapsed into illiteracy after leaving school. It was therefore felt that provision should be made whereby the pupil should retain literacy once gained and so be in a position to use that instrument for beneficial purposes. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance and urgency of the problem relating to the education of the illiterate adult. The decision to achieve political progress in successive stages imposed a very definite obligation to take every possible step towards the solution of this problem. The political, social and economic conditions of the province demanded that this should be done. Another advantage was that the general spread of literacy among parents would lead to the universal education of the children. A satisfactory beginning was made in 1923 in this direction and as many as 18000 adults were enrolled in these schools. For this happy beginning, the inspecting and teaching staffs, Local Bodies and the Co-operative Department were mainly responsible.

NUMBER OF PUPILS IN ADULT SCHOOL.



NUMBER OF ADULT SCHOOLS.



The problem, however, bristled with certain difficulties which had to be overcome, as for instance, the danger of a waning enthusiasm. Though the recognised syllabus for these schools was confined to the three R's. the pupils were encouraged to present their difficulties to the teacher who would suggest further means of study. In this connection special mention must here be made of the efforts of K. B. Sheikh Nur Elahi M.A. I. E. S. for the effective promulgation of the adult school movement.

Another equally important aspect of the same problem connected with the removal of illiteracy was the provision of means whereby the adult or the school boy, once having gained literacy, should not only retain that literacy but also use it for beneficial purposes. Literacy should never be allowed to go to rust. Village libraries were therefore essential; and equally essential were useful and suitable pamphlets concerning matters of common interest. A beginning along these lines had been rendered possible through a donation of Rs. 30,000 by the Provincial Red Cross Society.

Another problem that deserved further consideration was the type of education imparted in village schools. The general opinion was that education drove the village boys away from the soil instead of to the soil and that the school curriculum needed a radical change. Its whole orientation was wrong. In a country where agriculture is not only

the principal, but practically the sole industry the curriculum for rural schools should be most definitely and uncompromisingly agricultural.

Mr. F. L. Brayne, the then Deputy Commissioner of the Gurgaon District wrote in 1923 in a forceful strain :—

“ Let who will, specialise in law or literature, but the ploughman’s son should be educated on agricultural and not on literary lines. That there are enormous difficulties in the way of changing the whole tone and spirit of education in a country is obvious, but at present education is definitely damaging the staple industry of the district not only by reducing the number of agriculturists but by taking away in each case the clever boy of the family who, were he taught the possibilities of modern methods and given a bent towards farming by his school training and a curiosity to work out on his father’s land the wonderful things he has learnt, might be a pioneer of scientific agriculture.”

This unfortunate tendency may have been due to several causes. Time was when even boys who had passed through the primary standards could easily secure employment and gradually rise to affluence. With the increased competition this was not now possible. In the first instance, the idea was still prevalent that the sole object of all education was to gain for boys admission to Government and other services. In the second place, it had been the common practice in the past in village schools

to detain little boys for long hours and to give them long home tasks with the result that they had no time in which to help their parents in the fields. Thus, boys remained out of touch with their parents' occupation and gradually acquired sedentary habits. In the third place, the crowded curriculum and the lack of co-ordination of teaching with the life and environment of the pupils were adverse factors in the same problem.

The outstanding feature of the year 1924 was the extended adoption of the principle of compulsion, when half the District Boards in the province and fourteen Municipalities accepted the provisions of the Punjab Primary Education Act. The Government agreed that "compulsion is the surest and most economical method of advancing literacy in the province" and was also satisfied that at this stage the encouragement of compulsion on a voluntary basis was more likely to secure the result desired than a rigid and premature emphasis on penalties. Equally encouraging was the success achieved by the adult education movement which in its first year attracted into night schools more than forty thousand pupils, both young and old. The movement had also an important indirect value in the impetus which it gave to the education of children, and Government was therefore pleased to be in a position to frame instructions which would ensure the continuance of the adult school as a permanent part of the educational machinery of the province.

The consolidation of the existing primary schools in preference to the haphazard opening of new ones

was a sound line of policy from both the financial and the educational point of view, and the fruits of this policy were to be seen in the steady conversion of primary schools into schools of the lower middle grade, in the reduction in the number of one-teacher schools, in an increased proportion of trained teachers and also in the campaign against stagnation in the infant class. Other outstanding features in the sphere of primary education were the proposed revision of the vernacular curriculum with a view to bringing it into closer association with rural requirements, and the orders of Government regarding the encouragement of education among the depressed classes as contained in Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) C. M. No. 210—G.S. dated the 13th June 1923. The orders were "The Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) is anxious that earnest efforts be made by all concerned for the education of these classes. Not only do the claims of justice and humanity plead on behalf of these people, but it is also essential to the best interests of this province as a whole that no community, however low in the social scale, should be denied the benefit of education. Equality of opportunity for all should be the watch-word of a properly devised educational system."

Propaganda work had, to a largely increased extent, supplemented the efforts above described for the dissemination of useful knowledge in rural areas. Mr. Sanderson, the then Inspector of Schools, Lahore Division, the present Director of Public Instruction gave an interesting account in 1924, of

the activities in his division which showed what could be accomplished by the departmental organisation under enthusiastic guidance.

During the succeeding year these activities in the constitution of the District Rural Community Councils were largely extended. Special emphasis was laid to remove undue wastage and stagnation in Primary schools and Primary departments of secondary schools.

The question of mass education became a grave problem day by day. Mr. A. J. Mayhew, late Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces wrote the following in his valuable book on Indian Education.

“ It has frequently been asserted in the preceding chapters that the political, economic and cultural advance of India depends largely on a type of elementary education that will ensure, within a measurable period of time, a standard of literacy in the industrial and agricultural population similar to that which prevails in the most advanced parts of Europe, and that will so alter their outlook on life as to enable them to co-operate intelligently with the Government, to assist in the organisation of India for the production of wealth, to derive a higher and more rational kind of enjoyment from their indigenous culture and to connect that culture more closely with ideals of morality and social service. Even those who move uneasily in so rarefied an atmosphere of aims and aspirations are forced to admit that increase in literacy increases the comfort and convenience of the proletariat and makes

them easier to control and govern. If it merely protects them from the extortionate subordinates of the Government and the railway official world and from the wiles of the money-lender, it is so much to the good. If it only instils the most rudimentary ideas of hygiene and ensures a larger and more intelligent reading public for the pamphlets of the Agricultural and Cooperative Credit Departments, it is adding to material happiness. If it exposes the villager to the dishonesty of an unscrupulous press, it gives him also the ability to read both sides of a case and makes him less dependent on and susceptible to the oratory of peripatetic agitators. If it tends to make him discontented with his lot and anxious for clerical and sedentary occupation in towns, such discontent is not destructive or unmanageable as the restlessness of illiterate frontier tribes or the fury born of superstitious ignorance that may at any time and in any part of India transform a town or village into pandemonium. It is pleasanter and cheaper to mould a literate population by appropriate and intelligent methods of education than to suppress an illiterate mob by machine guns."

" Many others spoke of the importance of education, but few noticed sufficiently the difficulties of education, especially in India. In fact, education is a complex problem because it is linked to, and bound by, forces over which it has little or no control. Such forces include the abject poverty of many a home ; the persistence of disease, especially of malaria ; the inadequate means of communication ;

the conflict of communal interests ; the social conditions which regulate life and human relationships ; the absence of a common medium of instruction ; and the clash between urban and rural requirements. These forces and many others, had to be taken into account in devising an educational policy. The fact that women do not teach in primary schools for boys is a great obstacle to the rapid extension of vernacular education " *

The disproportionate enrolment in the various classes of Primary schools had been consistently deplored, but an analysis of the situation in 1928 suggested that an unduly gloomy view had been taken in the past. Different lines of attack were thought out upon illiteracy. One was the economising and concentrating of effort through the conversion of primary schools into lower middle schools, and as many as 404 schools were converted. Another line of attack was found in the choice and training of teachers.

A close study of the figures given in the Report on the progress of Education in the Punjab for 1928 reveals certain interesting facts in regard to enrolment. Whereas the number of recognised schools had decreased by two hundred and eighteen and their attendance by 3658, the total enrolment in the Primary stage of instruction showed an increase of 43,689, the gratifying result of the policy of steady and rapid conversion of flourishing primary schools into lower middle schools. In fact, the Punjab believed in this policy of conversion from the very

* Sir George Anderson. Director of Public Instruction Punjab.

outset, and its faith in the efficacy of lower middle schools as agencies for imparting lasting literacy was strengthened as the years rolled by. Sir George Anderson's reports speak eloquently in the relevant chapters of the great part these institutions played in the campaign against illiteracy. It was to the vigorous pursuit of this policy that the largely augmented attendance of primary pupils in Secondary schools may be accounted for. The far reaching effects of this beneficent reform were fully recognised by the Royal Commission on Agriculture who recorded the following counsel to the rest of India.

"Although other provinces have a certain number of primary pupils in middle schools they have not so far initiated a definite policy of converting primary schools into lower middle schools, and the number of primary scholars in these schools is accordingly much fewer than it is in the Punjab as is shown by the following comparison :—

1926-27.

Province.	Primary pupils in primary schools.	Primary pupils in secondary schools.	Total primary pupils.	Percentage of primary pupils in secondary schools to Total primary pupils.
Assam.	192,343	25,687	225,030	14.4
Bengal ...	1,399,555	187,566	1,587,121	11.8
Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar,	875,566	45,756	921,422	5.0
Punjab ..	270,072	46,184	316,256	14.6
United Provinces.	393,160	830,054	723,214	45.6
	1,038,452	18,644	1,057,096	1.8

Similar figures for Bombay and Madras are not available as the middle vernacular schools in those provinces are classed as primary schools."

"The reasons which have led to the conversion of primary schools into lower middle schools in the Punjab appear to be convincing and we commend the desirability of adopting a similar procedure to the consideration of other Local Governments."

As regards compulsion, the Royal Commission's findings are given in their report (page 523, paragraph 445) :—

"We are convinced that the progressive adoption of the compulsory system is the only means by which may be overcome the unwillingness of parents to send their children to school and to keep them there till literacy is attained."

The following table will indicate that the situation greatly improved by 1928 as regards undue stagnation :—

Year.	Class I.	Class II	Class III	Class IV.
1921—22	225517	91245	69280	50496
1922—23	313608	99899	75402	57221
1923—24	317520	108269	78871	64229
1924—25	338849	121505	86450	67442
1925—26	409644	140244	93490	73720
1926—27	440361	178109	96132	82911
1927—28	457046	203316	105813	84244

These figures disclose a disconcerting preponderance of pupils in class I, but a closer examination of the statistics showed that this was not a matter of anxiety. The results of the latest enquiry undertaken in 1928, in compliance with a request from the Education Committee of the Statutory Commission not only confined the statistics, but also encouraged the hope of the eventual success of the counteracting measures as already enumerated in this chapter, (the steady elimination of one-teacher school, etc.).

CHAPTER VIII. GIRLS' EDUCATION.

Before the advent of the British rule education among Punjabee women of the higher castes of Hindus, the better Moslems and all orders of Sikhs was purely religious. The system of education was confined to their acquiring the principal tenets of their respective religions. Only a small section of the female population was educated to the modest requirements of household life. Among the Hindus the education of girls was entirely domestic. Early marriage had already become the custom and the only education which a girl received was one which fitted her to fulfil the duties of the household of her husband. She was sometime acquainted with something of the vast mythological stories and folklore, handed down from ancient times.

As to the education of the Moslem girls it was as much restricted among the Moslems as among the Hindus. The Purdah system which shut up in seclusion all Moslem women, except young girls made their education a matter of great difficulty, even when it may have been desired. However some little girls were taught with boys but their leaving school at a very early age prevented their education being carried very far. It was purely limited to the reading of the Holy Koran. They received education at the hands of Mullahs of mosques. Some-

times old widows opened such schools in their houses.

The education of a Sikh girl was confined to the study of "Granth Sahib" the memorising of Japjee. Gurukhi was taught by *Bhais* of Dharmaslas.

After the annexation of the Province and the organisation of the Department, there appeared to be some practical difficulties in the way of extending the opportunities of education to girls. Popular prejudices of social conservatism were powerful in operation and likely to damp the energies of Government. The authorities could not, therefore, direct their attention to the subject until many years after they had adopted definite measures for the education of boys.

The first Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Arnold, writes, "When the Department was first organised it was proposed to let the question of female schools stand over till the ordinary establishments were well set on foot". But the time arrived when the Government grew far above the prejudices of the people. The need for educating girls was badly felt. The experiment had been successfully tried in the United Provinces owing to the enthusiasm of a certain Gokal Singh, a Deputy Inspector.* The accounts of the efforts made in the United Provinces soon reached the Educational authorities in the Punjab who commenced operations by impressing upon the people the importance of

* First Punjab Education Department Report 1856-57.

teaching their daughters as well as their sons. The first girls school was opened at Rawalpindi under the auspices of Mr. Browne, Inspector of schools, Rawalpindi Division in December 1856. By the close of the year 17 schools had been established and the total number of girls attending them was 306 or 18 per school. Of the whole number 296 were Moslems and only 10 Hindus. The nomination of the teachers was at first left to the people of the place. These schools were often inspected by the Deputy Inspectors in company with a few of the respectable inhabitants of the place. But the people, inspite of the strenuous efforts of the Government did not feel the need of education for their daughters to any appreciable degree. It was now expected that girls education would surely progress rapidly, circumscribed only by the limitation of funds.

In 1863-64, a scheme was proposed for training governesses and placing them in families of the upper classes of Indian society at Lahore and Amritsar, but this scheme was afterwards changed; for it was found that the women under instruction had domestic cares and duties. The history of girls education would remain incomplete if the efforts of one Bawa Khem Singh be not mentioned. He rendered meritorious services to the country by stirring up people to educate their daughters.

It was the year 1865-66 when for the first time three training schools for women vernacular teachers were started.

The tables show that there was a great collapse at the end of this period. In fact when the movement in favour of girls education commenced, a large number of schools were started without any guarantee of continuance of funds for their support or that any real instruction would be given in them. Hence many schools were abolished either on account of failure of funds or because it had been proved that nothing was taught in them.

By the year 1875, the remaining number of Government and private schools had come to rest on a more or less stable basis. This was the period of progress. Five Normal Schools had been opened during the previous years which supplied women teachers and in consequence resulted in the increase of these schools.

In fact girls education made very little progress in the Punjab. Many causes were still working which stood considerably in the way of bringing about the desired result of this new experiment. The main defects were not so much the action or inaction of the ruling power as the customs of the people themselves—apathy of the people towards girls education owing to social and religious conservatism, the custom of early marriages and domestic cares and duties.

It was the year 1883 when Mrs. Steel was informally appointed to inspect and supervise these girls' schools. She was a very capable lady who had a sound knowledge and experience of girls' education. Her services to the cause of female education were commended.

During the year 1885, Miss Waunton of C. M. S. schools and Mrs. Rodgers of the Municipal Schools at Amritsar generally assisted the Department by inspecting and reporting on the girls schools in Delhi, Lahore, Gujranwala, Ludhiana, Jhelum and Rawalpindi districts. The need of an independent Lady Inspectress of Indian girls' schools was keenly felt, but the financial position did not allow it. There were 193 Primary schools for girls and the total expenditure on these schools amounted to Rs. 94,331 in 1886. The results attained at the public examinations by girls furnished evidence that some progress was being made, though their education was still in a backward state. It was noticed that there was no Normal school for girls until the year 1886, which could supply competent teachers and until there was a supply of women teachers possessing the necessary qualifications there could be no really good Primary schools for girls except those taught by European ladies, or by men.

The want of competent women teachers impeded the progress of girls' primary education and every reasonable inducement was afforded to girls to qualify up to the required standard. The efforts of Miss Greenfield and Miss Anderson of Ludhiana were greatly appreciated in this connection. The measures introduced during the year 1885 for the improvement of girls education had an undoubted effect in arousing an interest in the subject; and in stimulating the exertions both of scholars and of teachers. The award of prizes to girls who dis-

tinguished themselves, of scholarships on the results of the Upper and Lower Primary examinations and of instruction grants to teachers in Board schools in accordance with the new rules, was systematically carried out. The most important feature of year 1888 was the formal appointment of a Lady Inspectress of Schools, Miss F. A. Francis. She did a great deal for the education of girls. She had a sound knowledge of the Punjabi language and was very sympathetic to girls. But the immediate prospects of girls' education were not brilliant though it was hoped that with time and patience the prejudice and apathy of the people would be dispelled.

As recommended by the Indian Education Commission of 1884 to which reference has already been made in the previous chapter, the course of studies in primary schools both for boys and for girls had been revised in 1889 and simplified. Much attention had been given during these years to the improvement of girls' education. The two great obstacles were the general apathy of the parents and the want of qualified teachers. Time alone could remove the former, though a gradual change in the feelings of the people was perceptible. In order to supply efficient teachers Normal schools were established in suitable localities. Had the Normal schools for girls proved successful in training efficient teachers, they would have even then fulfilled in a very imperfect manner the object in view. Young women in the Province were, as a rule, unable or unwilling either to attend a Normal school or to serve as teachers at a distance from their homes.

Experience also showed that the multiplication of Primary schools for girls, before efficient teachers could be provided, led in most cases to failure and disappointment, and that no useful purpose of any kind was served by filling the infant department with small children. The need of Normal schools for girls was great and the Normal classes for the training of women teachers started in the Alexandra school, the Christian Boarding School, the Municipal Board Central school, and the Church of England Zanana Mission Schools, at Amritsar rendered great service in 1892. The number of primary schools rose during the year from 295 to 310 and the number of scholars from 8918 to 10,027 which was considered as satisfactory. With the growing number of these schools the work of the Inspectress of schools, because of the amount of travelling entailed in the winter months, was very heavy. She had to visit all the girls' schools in the province; which numbered 317 with 11,165 scholars in 1898. The average annual cost of educating a girl was Rs. 10-5-0 of which over 60 per cent. was met from Public Funds and about 40 per cent. from Private sources, of which 1.5 per cent came from fees. Scholarships forming a large additional item of expenditure on girls' schools amounted to Rs. 17,561, or an average of Rs. 1-6-0 per head, compared with an average fee per head of less than 3 annas.

Upto 1902 girls' education was still in its infancy, but, considering the great obstacles that had to be contended with, considerable progress had been made in the past five years. The number of

students had considerably increased. The want of suitable text-books was alluded to by the Inspectress of schools, and Miss Francis' suggestion that a series of readers for girls schools should be provided, received the consideration of the Department.

A normal school for women, was established at Lahore on the fourth January 1905 with a staff of 3 teachers and 18 pupils. Students preparing for the Senior Vernacular Certificate Examination were in receipt of a stipend of Rs. 8 per mensem, and those preparing for the Junior Vernacular certificate Examination got a stipend of Rs. 5 per mensem.

The year 1905-06, marked a great progress towards girls' education. From all quarters indications were being received that the prejudice against the teaching of girls was at last breaking down. The attempts to deal with the problem of how to systematize the teaching went on in Zenanas, and substituted a proper curriculum under trained teachers for the desultory and spasmodic tuition imparted behind the parda, were beginning to bear fruit. The efforts of Government in this direction were being seconded by the Arya and Dev Samaj, and by several Missionary Bodies. It was noticed that among the 116 new schools opened during the year, 27 received no aid from Government. It is true that the obstacles raised by the parda system had not as yet been removed. Partly on this account and partly because Urdu was not the mother tongue of the pupils, the success among the Muslims was markedly less than among

Hindus. But in the case of Muslims, the signs were hopeful.

A demand for girls' education was felt in Delhi which had hitherto been completely apathetic and the lead in the extension of girls schools was taken by the Muslim district of Rawalpindi. It was also felt that the provision of trained mistresses, enthusiastic in their profession, would bring the desired result. The growing number of these schools required the province to be divided in two circles in 1906 with a view to have a thorough inspection of these schools.

Any curriculum which did not take into consideration what a girl's future was to be and did not train her to act rightly, or give her a strong sense of duty, was faulty. The length of school life naturally determined the curriculum and many children left school before any of their faculties as perception, memory and a certain amount of imagination had time to develop.

It has been said that throughout the nineteenth century the mistake made in education was that it was entirely the education of the intellect. It was particularly noticeable in these schools that the girls turned into dreamy unpractical women with no idea of how to act for themselves or to form correct judgments. It was, therefore, felt that henceforth the girls schools should take this into consideration and give more attention to subjects in which the children had to do something for themselves and at once apply the knowledge gained. The Punjab

Government reviewed in the quinquennial report for the year ending 1912, on page 4 as follows :—

“ The marked awakening of interest in the education of girls throughout the province, and more particularly in the more progressive districts, is one of the most pleasing features of the report. The social problems, which do so much to make progress difficult, centred for the most part round the position of the Indian woman. By educating her, rather than by any other way, will these problems be solved. It is significant that already there is a tendency to defer the marriages of girls in order to give them a better education, and in some of the towns, efforts are being made to continue their education after marriage..... Primary education, too, cannot fail to have important and beneficial results, especially where, as in the case of boarding schools it includes training in domestic economy. This should do much to improve the conditions of Indian home life..... ”

The increase in attendance at girls' schools continued during the year 1913-14, the figure being 14 per cent. as opposed to 10 percent. in the previous year. The progress was retarded for want of qualified mistresses. The same year the staff of the Inspectress was reorganised to consist of a chief Inspectress and her assistant and an Inspectress was appointed for each division. Miss Stratford was the first chief Inspectress appointed. An effort was made to supply trained mistresses through the normal school for women at Lahore. Miss Must and

and her staff did their best to make the Normal school as effective as possible.

The work in the Punjab was for the most part done by Missionary societies. Reading was taught with a view to the reading of religious books. The only non-sectarian classes at present were taught by the house to house teachers of the Punjab Association. The chief Inspectress reported in 1916 that the vernaculars and needlework were usually well taught in the larger Primary schools, and arithmetic was brought to a standard sufficient for household needs. She again wrote in 1917 "Indian public opinion has slowly changed from its former attitude of positive dislike to the education of women and is now much more favourable as regards every community."

Miss Douglas, Inspectress of Schools, Rawalpindi Division, was placed on special duty in 1917 to conduct an enquiry into the subject at different centres in the Province. She found a considerable body of educated, but not very well-informed, public opinion in favour of a determined effort for the expansion of girls' education. The suggestions made for popularising girls' schools usually took the form of recommendations for the improvement of the curriculum and for the increased employment of Indian ladies on the school Committees and in the inspecting staff.

As regards the first suggestion the recommendations were often based on ignorance of the existing

curriculum, which in Primary schools consisted of the three 'R's' together with needle work and the rudiments of geography, all that an ordinary elementary school mistress was likely to be able to teach. As to the desirability of enlisting the aid of Indian ladies in the cause of girls' education there could be no dispute. Miss Stratford wrote in her quinquennial report of 1917 on page 43. "There was a general consensus of opinion that Indian ladies should be the leaders in movements for the expansion of girls' education..... The transference of the management of aided schools to the hands of Indian ladies is, therefore, essential."

In February 1919, a conference on the education of girls was held at Lahore which recommended :—

(1) that there should be at least one teacher for every 30 girls ; and that there should be two teachers in every full primary school ;

(2) that a standard minimum scale of salaries should be enforced as given in the Punjab Education report of 1918-19 at page 21 ;

(3) that a survey should be made of the needs for more schools.

(4) that a suitable provision be made for the school buildings.

The new classification adopted in 1919 for boys' schools had not been brought into operation for girls. The work of Primary schools, though somewhat stereotyped, was said to be improving

specially in arithmetic and languages, but general knowledge and practical hygiene needed more attention.

During the year 1923 renewed efforts were made to render the schools more in tune with child nature and thus attractive to young girls, the aim being that they should remain at school for a longer time. Spasmodic and irregular attendance was the most dangerous defect. Many of the schools were still dreary, and uninspiring places for successful training.

The increase in the number of recognised schools was disappointing in 1927 and reflected adversely on the enthusiasm and sympathy of Local Bodies. The number of unrecognised schools fluctuated to a remarkable degree, and this indicated that many of these schools were of a very ephemeral nature. The Deputy Directress (The office of the chief Inspectress had been converted into that of the Deputy Directress) was, of opinion that some of these schools served a useful purpose and deserved recognition, but Local Bodies were reluctant to award grants-in-aid. She, therefore, urged that the grant-in-aid to these schools should be paid from provincial revenues. She was supported in her view by Mr. E. M. Jenkins the then Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur in 1927 who wrote as follows :—

“ The state of girls’ education is most unsatisfactory. Schools and scholars are few, and the impossibility of exercising control through the

district inspecting staff (for there is not sufficient work to justify the appointment of a district Inspectress, and the Inspectors cannot examine these schools) leads me to believe that it might be a good thing to provincialise the education of girls. The District Board at present does nothing but pay the bills (this is good news) and exercises no real control."

. The expansion and improvement of girls' education in rural areas presented almost insuperable difficulties. But with all these, considerable success had been achieved by the year 1929 when the number of primary schools rose to 1409 with 73830 scholars. The Primary schools were improving, better methods of teaching were being employed, and attendance was becoming more regular.

Another important feature of the year 1929 was the experiment of co-education tried in several districts of the Punjab. It was found more economical than having separate primary schools for boys and girls. In places where it was possible to have women teachers in charge of Primary schools, there was a strong feeling in favour of the movement as women are usually better teachers of small children than men. Unfortunately, owing to the dearth of trained mistresses, it was not possible to do much in this direction, though in some places a master's wife taught in the boy's school.

Many of the difficulties still remain up to this day; for advance depends neither on Code nor on money, but on the complete change of attitude by

the masses which might be effected through the influence of religion and constant propaganda work. The girl is a very busy member of the Indian village home, and the question, therefore, of the uplift of Indian womanhood is most vital for the country's self-government, and therefore, should be constantly kept before the people and a genuine desire for it will in course of time spring up.

It would be interesting to give here in this chapter what may be called, "A Roll of Honour" of those who have been in direct incharge of girls education.

Lady Inspectresses—

- (1) Mrs. Steel ... 1883 to 1888. (Informal).
- (2) Miss Francis from 1888 to 1901.
(The first lady formally appointed as Inspectress).
- (3) Mrs. Rodgers officiated in 1901.
- (4) Mrs. Francis incharge of western circle.
from 1902 to 1910.
Appointed as Senior Inspectress.
- (5) Mrs. Ingram incharge of the eastern circle—She proceeded on leave from October 1907 to January 1908, Miss L. M. Stratford, Assistant Inspectress of the western circle officiated

- (6) Miss L. M. Stratford—appointed as chief Inspectress in 1913 and as Deputy Directress in 1923. She proceeded on leave in 1928 when Miss E. M. Must officiated. Miss Stratford is still the Deputy Directress.
- (7) Mr. Sanderson.—He held charge of this office from 21-8-1930 to 27-10-1930, in addition to his own duties.
- (8) Again No. (6) who continues.

The whole expansion of girls' education in the Punjab has been effected in the time of Miss Stratford whose name will have a loving memory in the history of girls' education. She stands prominent for her distinguished services to the cause of girls' education in the Punjab.

CHAPTER IX. TEACHERS.

The hopeless and poor condition of a Primary school teacher has already been sketched in the previous chapters. The inefficiency of the teacher alone led to the decay of indigenous schools. After the establishment of the Punjab Education Department it was decided in 1856-57 to introduce four Normal schools at a cost of Rs. 300 each and of a Central Training College at Lahore at a cost of Rs. 2,290 per mensem. There was a great need of the training of these teachers as they knew as little as their scholars of the mysteries of geography or the rule of three. The plan was adopted to send these teachers to Normal schools at Lahore. The period for which they were sent to the Normal school (old men were not sent) varied from 6 months to 2 years.

The efficiency of the Primary schools depended largely on training teachers for the arduous work of coaching the young minds.

“ As to the state of the teachers working in those days in indigenous schools, it is sufficient to state that out of 13,109 teachers incharge of indigenous schools, 5,216 were unable to read a printed

(1) Punjab Education Annual Report 1882-83.

book, 5,782 unable to write, 9,595 not acquainted with elementary Arithmetic" A large number of teachers was either blind or disabled and in some cases carpenters, blacksmiths, choukidars and others who knew the holy *Koran* by heart but were unable to follow their own trade, took to this calling. General improvements that had been introduced in these Training Institutions worked on the whole successfully. It was decided in 1861-62 to establish a good normal school at the headquarters of each division under the direct control of the Director and the Inspector.

By the year 1884, there were three Government Normal schools at Lahore, Dehli and Rawalpindi in addition to the Christian Vernacular Education Society's Normal school at Amritsar. A new set of rules for these schools were framed in 1882 which were brought in force at the end of 1883.

One of the new provisions was that all candidates, for admission to a Normal school proper must have passed the Middle school examination; but that preparatory classes might be started when necessary, for candidates who had not fulfilled that condition. Some little doubt had been felt as to the object of these preparatory classes; whether they were meant merely to prepare the students for the Middle school examination, and so to enter the Normal school proper, or whether they should at the same time impart some instruction in the art of teaching.

The Inspectors spoke strongly of the very marked improvement that was gradually taking place in the general standard of the school-masters, in consequence of the constant supply of more or less trained men who were being poured into the Province through these Normal schools.

Similarly for girls three Normal schools at Lahore, Delhi, and Amritsar were started, but not under official management. These schools were aided, though Provincial Revenues bore 94 per cent. of the total cost.

Proposals were submitted by Colonel Holroyd for an improved and more permanent organisation of these schools.

The question of stipends to candidates for the Normal schools was also taken up in 1884. The condition of a Primary school teacher is well described by Dr. Stulpnagel in his report of 1884 as under, "the Normal schools in the Punjab have hitherto done a most useful work, and the young men educated in them of late years are of a better stamp. Nothing, however, struck me during the two years I have officiated as an Inspector of schools, as the sad effect of time upon the mental calibre of most village school teachers. This deterioration is of course easily explained. The teacher employed in the lower classes performs his duties in a drudge-like manner ; he comes to school at a certain hour and goes home at a certain hour ; he has no literary tastes, and therefore never thinks of improving

himself by private study ; he frequently does not even possess a copy of the text books used in his classes ; as he grows old, he loses his mental energy and it is fortunate for him if a former Normal school training at least supplies him with the mechanical facility for carrying on his work."

Complaints were made from all these schools in 1885 as to the late date at which students were sent up by the districts, the disregard of the conditions laid down for admission, and the frequency with which incompetent or unruly men were chosen for training apparently only in order to get rid of them. To meet these difficulties, certain new rules were framed the principal features of which were, that no students would be admitted after the 15th October, and that students who showed themselves after three months' trial, unable or unwilling to profit by the course, would be dismissed from the school. Teachers of approved service could also be admitted, with the sanction of the Inspector, without having passed the Middle school examination. The course for the preparatory classes was also revised and shortened, so as to last for two sessions only instead of three—a great improvement, as districts were unwilling to put teachers under training for so long as three years. Finally the financial arrangements were remodeled, the District Boards having been asked to consent to a revised scale of contributions, to increase the number of stipends in accordance with the recommendations of the Education Commission. The number of students at the close of the year 1885-86 was 151

against 180 at the end of 1884-85. Local authorities had been extremely remiss in sending students for training, and the enforcement of the rule that they should not be admitted after a certain period of the session had elapsed, caused a reduction of numbers.

There were still inefficient teachers in village schools and also in some of the aided schools. The former were gradually replaced by competent men, and the latter also gave place to certificated teachers under the operation of the new grant-in-aid rules. Stagnation in the lowest class was still complained of in some districts and for this the inefficiency of a primary school teacher was largely responsible.

To every normal school a gymnastic instructor was attached in 1888 and systematic instruction in physical training was given. Definite courses and definite schemes of examination had been drawn up by the Educational Conference and approved of by Government.

In view of the insufficient supply of trained teachers to which reference has already been made, of the 300 stipends offered by Government as many as 47 were vacant at the close of the year. By the year 1889 two more normal schools had been established for the Derajat circle and for the Peshawar Division.

Revised rules regarding certificated teachers were introduced and the examinations were open to all comers, who fulfilled certain necessary condi-

tions. It was impossible for any one to obtain a certificate who did not combine with a sufficient standard of general attainments, a practical as well as a theoretical knowledge of the art of teaching. No one could obtain permanent employment in a Board school who did not hold a certificate and the grant-in-aid rules were so framed as to ensure the eventual employment of certificated teachers in all Aided Schools. The following measures were adopted in 1890 on the recommendation of the Conference :—

(1) The minimum age for admission to a normal school be reduced from 18 to 17.

(2) The minimum age, at which a candidate be allowed to appear at the certificate examination be reduced from 19 to 18.

(3) The minimum salary of an assistant teacher, who held a certificate, be raised from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per mensem.

(4) Youths who passed the middle school examination were declared eligible for employment as assistant teachers on Rs. 6 per mensem until they attained the age of 20 years, after which they must either join a Normal school or vacate their appointments. If in the meantime they passed the certificate examination, they were entitled to a salary of Rs. 8 per mensem.

The general organisation of these normal schools was greatly improved since 1884 and the model Schools, that were maintained in connection with

them had been placed on a much more satisfactory footing. These schools were inspected by the Principal of the Training College twice a year and were thus made to work on identical lines. The number of stipends was increased to 316 in 1892 of which as many as 38 were still vacant.

The scarcity of trained teachers throughout the Province opened a ready market to all who succeeded in gaining certificates. Some, however, chose to join the Training College after passing from the Normal schools, and constituted, every year, a substantial amount of labour lost in the cause of Primary Education. The number of stipendiaries who continued to leave the schools before the end of the course, as well as the rather large percentage of failures in the schools, seemed to imply that more care was required both as to the kind and calibre of the men selected. However the effect of this training began to be perceived in course of time. The Inspector of Schools of the Delhi circle wrote in his report of 1898 as below:—

“ The habits and application of teachers trained in the Normal schools have acted directly on the pupils who are far more orderly in their habits and more attentive in class than before.” The Lahore Inspector noticed “ a greater readiness to use the black-board in class-work; the significance of this can hardly be over-estimated, for where the black-board is freely and generally used the old dry-as-dust style of teaching must give way.” The demand for Junior Vernacular certificated teachers was in

excess of the supply and the students passing the examination found employment at rates varying from Rs. 6 to Rs. 10 per mensem.

The course of training covered one year and consisted of more advanced instruction in the subjects of a general education most necessary to an elementary teacher, of a course of instruction in school management and methods of teaching, of model and criticism lessons, and of practical teaching, under trained masters in the model schools. All the normal schools were provided with special buildings and the organization and equipment of them all were satisfactory. Each had a suitable model school attached to it, which was utilized on the right lines.

It is worthy of mention that for practical training in Agriculture, the students of the Lahore Normal School attended the Agri-Horticultural gardens twice a week during a part of the session under the guidance of their teacher of Agriculture and the general supervision of Mr. Hein. Measuring and surveying formed also a part of the Normal school curriculum. Agriculture, mensuration and drawing required a considerable amount of attention in the Normal schools. The general methods of instruction in addition to practice in ploughing, sowing, weeding and watering was to train the students by observation and the keeping of journals in which they entered the results of their work. Agricultural instruction which found part of the curriculum, received illustration from small plots

rented for the schools at Lahore, Rawalpindi and Multan. Simple experiments had been devised in 1907 to show the germination and development of plants. To promote a spirit of emulation in practical work the farm was divided into sections, making the students of each district responsible for each section. With the growing demand of trained teachers the salary of these teachers was raised from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 and in some districts from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per mensem. By the year 1910, out of 4188 teachers employed in Board Primary schools only 2423 were trained.

The poor quality of much of the teaching was found to be a weak point in the Primary schools and an obstacle to the spread of education : parents were disinclined to send their children to school when the teacher did not command their confidence, only half of the teachers were trained and the qualifications of many of others were meagre. To secure the stability of trained teachers, provident funds were established in 1911 and training classes for teachers of Lower Primary schools were started in connection with Vernacular Middle schools, to supplement the Normal schools.

Some changes were made in 1911 in the curriculum of the Normal schools with a view to making the instruction as simple and practical as possible. Algebra and Euclid were omitted from the course in order to give time for instruction in Arithmetic by indigenous methods, and Hindi and Panjabi were made alternative to Persian.

The increase of primary schools was accompanied by a general improvement in the qualifications of teachers. Graded scales of salaries from Rs. 12 to 30 per month were introduced in 1913 and teachers had the benefits of a provident fund and the chance of postal allowances. As a result of these measures the teacher's calling became popular and there was no longer a dearth of recruits.

A new Normal school was opened at Lyallpur at the close of 1912 and schemes for several other Normal schools were being worked out. With the improvement of prospects, men were now eager to undergo a course of training and instead of District Inspectors having to use pressure to induce men to attend the Normal schools, the number of applicants for admission was greatly in excess of the number for whom accommodation had been provided. The result was that it was now possible to make a selection and to reject men who did not possess the natural gifts necessary for successful teaching. All the headmasters of the Normal schools welcomed these changes and agreed that the revised scheme of studies was more practical and likely to result in the normal schools turning out more efficient teachers. The out-turn of the various Normal schools and training classes was fairly adequate for existing needs, and improved pay and provident funds checked the tendency to desert the teacher's calling for other paths of employment.

The course of training in a Normal school was of one year's duration. The curriculum was

simplified and elementary psychology omitted in 1917. The curriculum for the training of these teachers required still further simplification in order to adopt it to the actual needs of the teachers when they left school. In the one year's course of training it could not be hoped to turn a vernacular middle passed youth into an educationist; the aim was to make of him a craftsman with the ability to impart the knowledge, which he already possessed when he entered the Normal school, in the most intelligent way and with the greatest economy of time, trouble and appliances, to the pupils under his charge. Greater stress was now laid on the methods of teaching the lower primary classes, since they were to contain the vast majority of pupils under his charge.

There was a distinct tendency, due in a large measure to the type of instructors employed, to make the teaching too academic, and to add teaching in subjects for which he had no practical use in a primary school. The importance of the work of normal schools which provided teachers for three quarters of the boys and girls under instruction in the Province could hardly be over-estimated. Any improvement in the methods of teaching in primary schools ultimately reflected in the intelligence shown by the pupils in all higher grades of education.

The facilities for the training of women as teachers in girls' schools were much more limited. This was due, not so much to the comparatively

small demand for women teachers, as to the very limited number who were prepared to come for training.

With the expansion of primary schools, the need for trained vernacular teachers was insistent and two steps were taken in 1918.

(a) The Normal school at Lahore was moved to Sialkot.

(b) A new Government Normal school was opened at Gujranwala.

These were only temporary arrangements. The policy of the Department was to remove Normal schools from the larger towns, where the students found the expenses of living very great and where they had no opportunity to see the work of rural primary schools, to smaller centres selected as far as possible for their proximity to village Primary schools in which the students could be trained in the practice of teaching, and the peculiar difficulties of which they could study at first hand. In pursuance of this policy, the Normal school at Sargodha was transferred to Lala Musa and the school at Sialkot was subsequently shifted to Gakhar. With a view to bring the village school teacher into the closest relations with the village environments, a special class for the training of Agricultural teachers was started at the Lyallpore Agricultural College in July 1918, in anticipation of the sanction of the general scheme for agricultural education.

Mr. Wyatt, the then Principal of the Central Training College, Lahore, sent a very interesting report on the work of the Normal schools in 1919. His criticisms were that the instructors were themselves out of touch with the conditions for which they were supposed to be preparing their students, and that the subjects were too often taught without due regard to the purpose of teaching them. "This type of defect," he said, "was especially pronounced in the so called criticism lesson, which at its worst was simply a ceremony with a time-honoured ritual, and even in the best schools—in all indeed except one, elaborate steps and procedure at the expense of its purpose as a lesson, a reading lesson has everything except practice in reading, a geography lesson cumbers ground and easels with apparatus such as no village teacher in his senses would dream of preparing, and almost invariably fails to use it to forward the object of the lesson."

In spite of these defects the normal school-student was generally a keen and intelligent worker and the effects of the course of training on his value as a teacher were very marked.

Ameliorative measures as regards pay and prospects of teachers were introduced in a number of districts. In the year 1919-20, of 7,529 teachers in primary schools of all kinds 4763 were trained and certificated. In Board schools the proportion trained was much greater, being as high as 80 per cent. in Kangra and in nearly every district it was over 60.

It was hoped that the changes recently introduced in the methods of work at the Normal Schools, together with the increased opportunities which the new scheme provided in 1919 for bringing these student-teachers into closer contact with the duties they were to be called upon to perform in the village school on the completion of their training, would go far to remove the shortcomings. But the active co-operation of the District Inspecting staff was absolutely necessary to secure this end. There was still need for increased vigilance and more sustained effort on their part, for which steps were taken by appointing additional Assistant District Inspectors, with an extension of the Tahsil system in the division of work in each district.

The number of Government Normal Schools had reached fourteen by the year 1920. An interesting development was that recent reorganisation of school classes, whereby the primary was now only a four-class school, greatly changed the conditions of the primary practising schools—called model schools—attached to Normal schools. Again a revised curriculum was introduced in 1920 when greater attention was given to geography, arithmetic, and nature study; the revision of the handwork and drawing course was still to be done. The examination tests had also improved. A syllabus of lectures on hygiene was prepared. The normal school pupils were no longer required to follow too learned disquisitions on physiology and anatomy.

Apart from the Government Normal Schools for Women at Lahore, five more normal schools were opened.

A development of the controlling agency was made in 1920 by the creation of a special post of Inspector of Training Institutions.

Apart from supervising and co-ordinating the work of training, particularly in normal schools, one of this officer's duties was to survey existing, and to propose further, facilities for training.

An important feature was the formulation of the definite aim of preparing the village teacher for his future career as a community leader. It was felt that the youths recruited in Normal schools should be in sympathy with the conditions of life and the aspirations of the community among whom they were to labour. Emphasis was, therefore, laid on the necessity of recruiting as many agriculturists as possible in the Normal schools. The percentage of agriculturists recruited in 1922-23 was 42 which was raised to 55 in April 1923.

As regards courses of instruction for women teachers, there had been little change except a minor improvement in orientation in the hand-work course. The course in domestic science was brought more into line with practical requirements.

Mr. Sanderson sounded a note of warning in 1925 about the importance of normal schools and training classes in the scheme of education. In penning his emphatic words of warning as given

on page 59 of the Report on the progress of education in the Punjab for the year 1925-26, Mr. Sanderson did a great service to the cause of education. "Without a proper and suitable means of training the vernacular teachers of the future," he said, "the whole edifice of vernacular education is in danger of falling to pieces." Strenuous efforts were consequently made in 1926 to remove the serious defects in the existing system. Steps were also taken to meet Mr. Sanderson's criticism of the neglect of physical training and its importance. The most potent and healthy innovation was the revision of the scheme of training, whereby the activities of the pupil-teachers were no longer limited to class room routine and to the prescribed examination syllabus. Systematic efforts were made to give a wider and a more suitable training than could be imparted by means of a mere scheme of studies.

Students were trained in all these movements which led to the uplift of village life and conditions. Inspite of a largely increased supply of trained teachers, it was not possible to keep pace with the ever-increasing demand for more trained men. This difficulty was chiefly due to the rapid and somewhat indiscriminate multiplication of branch schools in recent years. Mr. Parkinson's word of caution given in 1927 on the occasion of his visit to a normal school is worth consideration. "My main criticism is that excellent though many of the activities and methods are, the training will not be successful unless the foundation of the work, i.e.,

the teaching of the usual primary school subjects is not forgotten." The physical training experts from the Central Training College revolutionized the work in their training institutions.

In regard to the general effect and content of training teachers for primary schools Khan Bahadur Sheikh Nur Elahi, Inspector of Training Institutions in 1928 was of opinion that the happy mean was being reached between the narrowness of the training which was given in the olden days and the somewhat riotous diffusion of effort in the training of recent times, which was in danger of catering only for mediocrities with the hall-mark of physical fitness. Khan Bahadur suggested various means of improving the condition of these teachers as under :—

(1) Inspections must be more thorough and frequent ;

(2) Refresher courses must continue to be held.

(3) The schools need better teachers and the teachers need better schools.

There was much force in his contention that there was an urgent need for a closer and more effective collaboration between the training and the inspecting staff.

The latest figures as given in the Report on the progress of Education in the Punjab for the year 1930-31 reveal that out of a total of 11,803 teachers

in Primary schools, 7,820 or 66.3 per cent. are trained against 62.7 for the preceding year. The average number of pupils per teacher is 33.8 in enrolment and twenty eight in average attendance.

It is gratifying to note that earnest efforts have been made by the Department to reduce wastage and eliminate stagnation to some extent, in a better flow of class promotions. Teaching, especially in the infant class has received particular attention. Various experiments are being carried on in the normal schools to make teaching more vital and realistic and suited to the child's surroundings. This feeling has practically transformed teaching in schools.

In view of the growing political consciousness of the masses there is still a need for the improvement of the type of a village school master if primary education is to be more popular and effective. It is with the Educationists to consider the advisability of improving the calibre of a primary school teacher even with the limitation of funds. The problem of improving a village primary school master is receiving the attention of the Punjab Education Department. As a matter of fact he is ill qualified and poorly paid. Unless his status is raised both financially and intellectually it is difficult to improve the situation.

CHAPTER X.

CURRICULUM.

A revised course of study for Vernacular Schools was devised in 1860-61, covering 8 classes. The 8th class was considered to be the lowest class.

The cumbrous course comprehending almost every branch of Science even Law and Astronomy in the school stage was nothing but to tax the brains of the students and it was more a course of memory than of common intelligence. This complete course was sufficient to try the patience of young students. This scheme was overhauled in 1871-72 when the number of classes in the Primary schools was determined and the scheme was decided for the Vernacular Primary Schools. By this curriculum the number of classes for Primary schools was reduced to four and the first class began to be considered the lowest class.

The curriculum proposed was also difficult in view of the mental development of the Primary class boys, but it continued up till 1879-80. This proposed scheme was to be covered in 5 years.

Then a new system of examination for the first two lower classes and the upper two classes was introduced and the following syllabus was prescribed.

Lower School Examination.

(a) Reading with facility and explaining a passage from easier parts of the Rasum-i-Hind or any other work of equal difficulty not in the scheme of students and answering grammatical questions arising out of the passage.

(b) Reading or explaining any of the class-books studied during the preceding year.

(c) Writing dictation in a clear and legible hand not more than 4 serious mistakes to be counted as the pass standard.

(d) Arithmetic to compound Division.

(e) General Knowledge of the maps of the Punjab and India.

Primary School Examination.

(a)}

(b)}

The same as in the Lower.

(d) Arithmetic.

(e) Geography of the Punjab, India, Asia, and other countries of the world with their chief natural features.

(f) Mensuration—Hisab-al-Musahat.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Education Commission the standards of Primary schools were revised in 1886 with a view to simplification. The elements of mensuration had formed a part of the curriculum of Primary vernacular schools, and native system of accounts and arithmetic were taught in schools specially intended for the trading community. Mental Arithmetic, based to some extent on native methods, had been more recently introduced into normal schools for Primary teachers and other measures intended to provide for more practical instruction in primary schools were in progress.

The sixth annual meeting of the General Educational Conference was held at Lahore in April 1890 where the following subjects relating to the primary school curriculum were discussed :—

- (1) The desirability of holding a special examination for middle school scholarships.
- (2) The introduction of fractional multiplication tables, and giving more attention to mental Arithmetic in Primary schools.
- (3) The requirements in Primary classes of a knowledge of geographical terms so as to secure the introduction of practical charts.
- (4) The revision of the courses in Geography for both the Primary and Middle school classes.
- (5) The reduction from 50 to 33 of the percentage of marks required to pass the primary examination.

(6) The levy of an entrance fee for re-admission to primary schools or Department.

(7) The issue of duplicates of Upper Primary Examination Certificates, and the fee to be charged.

(8) A vacation in village Primary schools.

In consequence of a representation from the Ferozepur District in 1889, influentially supported, in favour of the introduction of the Punjabi language in the schools, Local Bodies were empowered to establish branch schools or classes, in connection with the ordinary Board Schools, for instruction in Gurmakhi, in places where the Sikh population was considerable, and where a desire for such schools or classes might be shown. This scheme did not meet with much success except in the Hoshiarpur district, where a little had been done.

Again at the eighth annual meeting of the general Educational Conference held at Lahore on the 18th April 1893 and attended by forty members—fifteen being officials and twenty-five non-officials, it was proposed that :

(a) The standard of Urdu writing prescribed for the second class of Primary schools be raised so as to bring it nearer to that of the Third class.

(b) The prescribing of courses of needle-work for girls' schools.

(c) The time allotted for instruction in Primary schools.

These proposals were generally accepted by the Government in 1894, with the result that the general character of the instruction imparted was gradually improving every where, especially in the elements of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.

A revised syllabus of object lessons for the primary classes was issued in 1902. The Lower Primary and Infant standards were no longer held by the Inspecting officers, this enabled them to look more closely into organisation, discipline and management of schools.

The Inspectors were generally of opinion that the special features of the rural scheme of studies, *viz.*, practical instruction in *hundis*, *bahi khata*, the native system of accounts, etc., were becoming more widely appreciated by the year 1910 ; but that the average teacher was unable for lack of training or aptitude to instruct efficiently in these subjects. Similarly with object lessons and drawing. Untrained teachers, who formed a large part of the teaching staff, were unable to go beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. The teaching of mensuration, however, was made more practical by the appointment of itinerant *Patwaris* to visit schools. It was liable to be forgotten that any reform of an educational system which did not take account of the teacher's capabilities was often worse than useless.

Punjabi was now an alternative vernacular in village schools which could be introduced in place of Urdu if the residents desired. It was also an

optional language in the scheme of studies for normal schools. The popular demand for the teaching of Punjabi was apparently weak. The total number of pupils attending Gurmukhi schools was 1756 in 1910 and the Department did not think that these schools were gaining in popularity and that until the demand for Punjabi became strong and articulate, there could be no question of making this language compulsory as demanded by the Sikh community. In fact the vernacular to be used in schools had been a subject of animated discussion in the press and elsewhere. The Code rules permitted the establishment of elementary schools giving instruction in Punjabi, but the permission had rarely been taken advantage of, and Urdu showed no signs of being dethroned. Physical instruction formed a part of the primary school curriculum. Drill and *desi kasrat* were regularly taught by itinerant instructors. Native (*desi*) games were also played, but play grounds were unfortunately rare. The course for rural schools gained in popularity, but *bahi khata* and accounts, were not well taught as yet. Urdu calligraphy too deteriorated in these schools and there was a tendency to use the ordinary rules of arithmetic instead of the native system. Some manual instruction was frequently advocated for primary schools, but apart from other considerations the lack of qualified teachers was an obstacle to its introduction. A few school gardens were kept up with the pupils' help. The Inspectors of Rawalpindi and Jullundhar were in favour of plots of land being

attached to primary schools for agricultural purposes.

A new and simplified scheme of studies was issued in 1913. With the introduction of the new scheme the distinction between the two types of schools intended to supply the needs of the village population was obliterated. This was perhaps the last stage in the evolution of a primary school—a stage which had had a fair trial and passed away. The experience gained had been utilized in recasting the curriculum; the final product harmonised conflicting interests, and appeared to be well suited to the requirements of different communities. The distinctive features of the rural school was preserved, but in a simplified and more workable form. The teaching of the newer and more practical subjects of instruction was at first unfavourably noticed.

Practical mensuration, *bahi khata*, geography, and native lessons were, as usual, reported to be weak features of the teaching in 1913 but there was said to be improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic, the staple of primary education. Persian, which figured in the cause of studies for village schools up to the issue of a separate rural school curriculum some ten years back, was entirely omitted in 1914 except where there was a definite local demand for it. Its retention, which was a survival from the time when Persian was the official language of the Punjab, could only be vindicated by linguistic considerations which did not

apply to elementary schools for villager's children. The school vernacular was almost universally Urdu.

An obstacle of long standing to the extension of primary education among agriculturists had been the difficulty of adopting it to the pupils environment, *i. e.*, of arranging that school did not detach him from rural occupations and the ordinary life of village children. A common criticism as already referred to in the previous chapters was, that setting aside the question whether a boy could be spared from field work, schooling actually unfitted him for it. It was objected that if a boy acquired habits of neatness and cleanliness in school, he was then unwilling to dirty his hands and clothes by working on the lands, and that education spoiled boys for Zamindari work, and that sitting all day in a school poring over books made them weak and physically disinclined for out-door work in the fields. The notion is still prevalent that education is a forcing process to which only the few need be subjected, with a view to obtaining posts for which literacy is a qualification, and parents, still foster this belief by consigning boys to school for practically the whole of the working day. The difficulty is certainly not to

be overcome by well-meant attempts to make agriculture a school subject of instruction, or by establishing a separate class of half-time Zamindari schools which deprive the agriculturist's son of an opportunity of carrying his studies further, but better organised teaching and shorter hours seem to be the only remedy.

Mr. Wyatt, Inspector of Schools, Jullundar Division, devoted much attention to the question in 1914 and endeavoured to frame village school time-tables in which the work was distributed on the most economic lines. He made a very interesting report of the experiment as below. "The shortened time-table introduced in the Hoshiarpur district in 1912, with the object of giving time for fieldwork to agriculturist children, and of improving the intellectual and physical results of a pupils' school occupations by reducing sedentariness and concentrating attention upon study, instead of dispersing it throughout the day, at school, was found sufficiently successful to justify its adoption in other districts of the division, and recommendations based upon the experience so far gained have been circulated throughout the province. The main difficulty was found to be the conservatism of teachers and people, the former disliking to be tied to times and to have to keep a school clock, the latter having come to regard the school as a kind of advanced nursery where children could be disposed of for most of the day—an attitude that unfortunately became so traditional that the purposes of a school as a school have largely been lost sight of. It will take time, and need careful explanation on the part of Inspecting Officers, for the new idea to gain ground that out-of-school and in-school occupations are complementary, and that a boy loses mentally and physically and so educationally where one part of the whole is in disproportion to the other. The shortened time-table is only a belated

measure of readjustment; and it remains with Inspecting Officers and parents to see that the spare hours of children are not wasted in doing nothing, but are spent, as they were spent in times gone by, in assisting their fathers in field or shop."

Experiments continued to be made in the direction of abridging the time spent in school, so as to allow the children to help in home avocations. It appeared, however, that parents and teachers did not, as a rule, desire a change, being wedded to their former habits, and the teachers, in particular, were lacking in the qualities of punctuality and alertness which were needed to render the scheme a success.

The understaffing of schools was another obstacle. It was felt in 1916 that the question of the adaptation of village schools to the needs of rural population was doubtless a most important problem in connection with Primary education. The difficulty lay not in devising suitable timetables, but in overcoming the village schoolmaster's traditional predilection for a whole-day school.

Nor was the five-hours school altogether perhaps to the liking of the District Inspecting Staff—the very agency on whom the enforcement of this reform entirely depended. With whole day schools these officers were able to visit a school at their convenience any time between early morning and late afternoon, but with a five-hour school day, they lost an inspection if they were late nor could

they see two or three schools a day as they often desired to do in order to save time.

It was also necessary for the success of this reform that no primary school with forty boys or more, and five classes should have less than two teachers. Leaving aside detailed criticism of teaching, there was something wrong with a system under which nearly 161,000 children were found in the infant class in 1917 while the aggregate attendance in the two lowest school classes, 228,649 (this figure included girls) was considerably greater than half of the total attendance at educational institutions of all kinds, schools and colleges in the Province. This phenomenon was not merely an incident due to the rapid growth of education, as very similar proportions existed for the ten years preceding 1917.

It was probably due to three principal causes:—

- (1) The presence in the infant class of what Mr. Wyatt called 'volatile stagnant infants.'
- (2) The impossible task which was expected of the master-in-charge of a single-teacher school.
- (3) Admission being made to the infant class at all periods of the school year so that children were to be found in this class at all the initial stages of instruction.

The mere multiplication of small single-teacher schools, the great majority of whose pupils did not reach the upper primary stage, had little effect in

breaking down illiteracy. If the foundations of the educational system were not to be laid on a shifting sand of casual attendance and a stagnant morass of neglected ignorance, the teaching of the Lower Primary classes must be radically reformed. Three steps were suggested in 1917 by Mr. Richey.

- (1) Insistence on the provision of two teachers for any five-class school.
- (2) Improvement in the methods of teaching.
- (3) Greater attention to the Lower Primary classes on the part of Inspecting Officers.

There was another aspect of this question to which insufficient attention had been paid in the past, *i. e.*, the effect of improved teaching on the popularity of rural schools.

For the indifference of the agriculturist four reasons were generally assigned :—

- (a) His conservatism *i. e.*, his inability to see the advantages of education for a boy destined to become a farmer.
- (b) His disinclination to spare the services of his children from fieldwork.
- (c) the unsuitability of the primary school curriculum.
- (d) the inefficiency of the schools.

Any agriculturist who had sufficiently advanced ideas to send his son to school for education, had sufficient intelligence to be dissatisfied with a system which condemned the boy to sit idle in school for hours. When after a year's attendance he found that the boy had not finished learning the alphabet, it was not surprising that he withdrew him from school. It was the rule and not the exception that a boy should take two years to obtain promotion to the second primary class.

Lest any one should deduce from this situation that primary education in the Punjab was in a bad way, it is only just to add that it did not compare at all unfavourably with that in other provinces. The number of trained teachers, and certainly their attainments, were as high as in any other province. The rates of salary for elementary teachers were higher than elsewhere in India. Many of the obstacles in the way of rural primary schools had been overcome by the introduction of the revised system of rural schools.

Henceforth no teacher could have more than four classes to teach, and in any school where the attendance exceeded 40 an assistant was given.

All things considered, the quality of instruction imparted was undoubtedly improving. The removal of the fifth class from the Primary to the Secondary rendered possible the bestowal of more individual attention than was the case before. Some advance in infant classes had been made with the 'look and say' method of teaching and reading.

There was now a general feeling that the type of Primary education in village schools needed revision. A reaction was beginning to set in against this unfortunate system. More and more agriculturists were applying for admission to Normal schools ; the proportion of trained teachers was steadily and quickly rising, the school hours were being adopted to local requirements ; the inspecting staff were in closer touch with the parents and were explaining to them the true objects of education ; and a committee appointed for the purpose recently reported on the simplification of the vernacular courses.

The Committee met on the 22nd and 23rd May 1923, under the presidentship of Mr. E. Tydeman, the then Inspector of Training Institutions, to consider and report on Vernacular school courses including the syllabus of Primary classes. They recommended in their resolution No. V as below :—

‘ That a minimum course be laid down for the Primary school ; that this course consists of reading, writing, arithmetic, and physical instruction ; and that the reading books at this stage be so compiled as to introduce useful and practical matter, which should not be merely read, but also assimilated by the pupil. That the style and vocabulary of these readers should be an improvement on those at present in use and the bulk gradually increased from class to class ; that the minimum syllabus thus laid down should be regarded as a sufficient course for a single-teacher school, but that in the large

and better-staffed schools the course should be amplified by the inclusion of separate courses in geography and nature study. That the decision as to which schools should be required to attempt the ampler course should rest with the District Inspector of Schools. The details of the course for Primary schools were recommended as below :—

(a) *Reading*.—To complete during the four years a graduated series of readers, as suggested above. The capacity of the pupil at the end of the course should be such that he should be able to read fluently and with understanding, an unseen book of the standard of *Qasas-i-Hind* (Part I), a simple passage from a newspaper, clearly-written letters and common documents (*notshikasta*), e.g., *Patwari's* papers and easy poetry. Conversation, oral composition, and the intelligent oral statement of the matter of the readers, should be practised in each class. Lessons in general knowledge should be imparted, as far as possible, through the medium of stories.

(b) *Writing*.—The pupil should be able, on the completion of the course, to write ordinary letters and short descriptions of simple and familiar objects, scenes and experiences, money orders, common receipts and ordinary official applications. Hand-writing should receive special attention in all classes, but the use of copy-slips should not be insisted on. It was suggested that for beginners a simple slip with the letters on one side and more common combinations of letters on the other would suffice. Such

a slip should be of stiff card board, and should not cost more than a pice.

(c) *Arithmetic*.—The chief aim throughout the teaching of this subject should be practical utility, and the exercises set to the pupils should be found with this aim in view. It was felt that assistance and suggestions in the preparation of any books which might be considered necessary could be obtained from recent series of elementary arithmetic books published in England. The pupil at the end of his course should know, and be able to work with accuracy and facility, exercises in the four simple and compound rules; reduction in Indian tables of money, weight, length and area; interest by nature methods; *qadmi Paimash*; and very simple vulgar fractions. He should know multiplication tables up to 16×16 , and fractional tables of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ each up to 16. Mental-arithmetic should be practically taught and constantly practised.

(d) General knowledge:—As in the subject matter of the readers.

(e) Physical Training:—As in the approved Departmental Course.

The Committee was strongly of opinion that a standard of achievement in the three R's should be laid down after proper investigation and research for application at the close of the Primary stages. This standard would be practically a standard of literacy, and would take cognizance of fluency and

understanding in reading ; speed, style and accuracy in writing ; and speed, method and accuracy in arithmetic. The question of the re-introduction of the Primary school examination was brought up, but it was pointed out that the examination of fourth class boys was now conducted by Assistant District Inspectors of Schools. The opinion was also expressed that the system of supervision of Primary schools by headmasters of Vernacular middle schools under the direction of the District Inspectors which was already in vogue in a few places, might possibly be extended.

As regards the teaching of agriculture in Primary schools the local Government accepted the recommendations of the Provincial Conference, which was also that of the All-India Conference, that no attempt should be made to teach technical agriculture and horticulture in Primary schools. Universal experience at this early stage were likely to do more harm than good (*Vide* C. M. No. 77, dated 19th February 1919, from Under-Secretary to Government Punjab, (Home Education Department.)

On the other hand, the Lieutenant-Governor agreed with the view of the Conference that :—

(a) Nature study should form an essential part of the teaching in Primary schools and that,

(b) the text-books in use in rural Primary schools should be adapted to the environment of the pupils.

Necessary changes were subsequently made in the acceptance of these proposals.

The various syllabuses that have been prescribed for Primary schools from time to time, to which reference has already been made in the previous chapters, have been discussed in some details. Mention has frequently been made in previous reports and records that the curriculum of Primary schools is still defective. In recent years the need for popular or mass education has been greatly felt and it has been discovered that even the present curriculum of Primary schools does not exactly meet the requirement. In the Punjab especially in rural areas, the great majority of parents who live on the land are poor, and their poverty is aggravated by improvidence and debt. Being illiterate and having an outlook confined almost entirely to their own surroundings and the daily routine of life, much persuasion is needed to convince them of the advantage of sending their children to school and keeping them there long enough to receive effective education, however, rudimentary. The great economic position of the villager is unfavourable to the spread of education or to an appreciation of its advantages. If an appeal to him to educate his children is to be successful any way it must rest on a concerted effort to make the school an instrument of village uplift, economic, social as well as intellectual.

Mr. Sanderson wrote in one of his letters (*Vide* C.M. letter No. 7911-A., dated 22nd April 1930) as below.

"In considering the problems presented by compulsory education it has been strongly impressed upon me that one of our difficulties will be the feeling amongst the villagers that education has no bearing upon their lives. I am afraid that we must admit that our instruction in our vernacular schools sometimes appears to suggest this situation inspite of the endeavours that we are making in our Normal schools to bring education into touch with life. As a measure towards getting rid of this feeling among village parents I would suggest that we should try to give the passing out test for the fourth primary class a definite village bias; for example, in Arithmetic the simple problems might deal with the simple transactions of the farmer or a village shopkeeper and the general knowledge which the children should possess might be expected to include very simple facts about land, revenue or *abiana*." It is gratifying to note that the Department has actually taken steps about the revision of the Primary school curriculum in light of the rural needs and requirements.

At present primary school curriculum includes reading, writing and arithmetic and an elementary knowledge of local geography. For reading purposes such literature in vernacular is proposed which may have a direct bearing on the life of a villager. The boys feel that they are reading about things that surround them and that they are dealing with, as for instance, seasons, crops, farming, gardening, village domestic life and

other general topics concerning the rural area. This starts from the first to the fourth Primary class in order that the boys might feel that they have gained some practical knowledge of their life and surroundings.

Then comes writing which is closely associated with the reading work. There is still a real need of suitable literature for rural education, though efforts have already been made in that direction.

As to arithmetic a village boy after his primary education is expected to know how he has to deal with the village *Bania*, *Patwari*, *Lambardar*, and other functionaries in matters of accounts (payment of revenue, *abiana*, loans, interests) and other transactions of the daily life of a villager. The knowledge of Arabic figures as used in deeds and account papers of a *Patwari* is also necessary. This sort of curriculum is sure to continue interest for education in the boys after achieving their literacy.

CHAPTER XI.

BUILDINGS.

In the early years of the period under review the village schools were often held under a spreading tree or even in the open street. The main disadvantages of such arrangements were the exposure to the heat of sun, the difficulty of caring for equipment and the fact that when children were in plain sight, the parents were likely to call them away for trivial reasons. In the year 1856-57 it was found easier to obtain from the liberality of Government a certain sum for the erection of school houses for Vernacular schools. But most of the attention was given to buildings of higher class schools and no tentative programme had yet been thought out and contemplated for the buildings of so-called Tehsili schools for which proper sites had already been fixed. Much attention had been given in 1889 to the erection and extension of school-houses and the provision of school appliances. Excellent buildings were supplied for a large proportion of the then primary schools ; though some of the schools were still ill-provided for : and in some districts many of

* (I) Punjab Education Annual Report, 1882-83.

the primary schools were held in village *Choupals* which was a very inconvenient arrangement. Owing to the increase of scholars there was a constant demand for improved accommodation. During the year 1888 Rs. 63,600 were expended by District Boards and Rs. 22,500 by Municipalities on the extension of school buildings. Little mention has been made about the primary school buildings in the reports except a brief reference made in the Report on Public Instruction for the year 1902-03 to the effect that insufficient and unsuitable accommodation was complained of; the buildings were not generally kept in good repair, and many were over-crowded. Subsequently it was decided in 1909 that one of the conditions of starting new schools might be that the villagers should contribute a proportion of the cost of the buildings. There seemed to be a tendency on the part of the Boards to erect comparatively expensive buildings, and to rely too little on the co-operation of the people. The cost of a school-house ranged from Rs. 1,660 to 2,600. The view was that cheaper buildings would eventually cost more in up-keep.

It was the year 1912 when the question of primary school buildings was seriously taken up. Grants amounting to Rs. 2,29,500 were made to the District Boards for the erection of vernacular schools and as many as 166 school buildings were completed for primary schools during the year 1913. An indefinite amount of money could be spent on building village school-houses, but the tendency of

the Boards to erect needlessly expensive buildings for the purpose was again to be deprecated.

What was required for a small village school was some form of open airy shelter, which need not cost much, supplemented by a shady tree if possible. Such repairs as were needed were carried out by local agency, as was already the practice in some districts. The position could hardly be described as satisfactory. The Inspector of Schools, Lahore Division, reported in 1914, that Primary classes were held in private houses where boys were huddled together like sheep in a pen and could hardly breathe. Mention is also made of the numerous gifts of land and loans of houses for school purposes. The question of a single type design for primary schools was carefully considered with the result that one was issued in 1911 for the guidance of Local Bodies in rural areas. It was recognised that the older buildings were deficient in light and ventilation, and the particular object of the new plan was to show how this defect should be avoided. The plan was for a school of 45 pupils, allowing 10 square feet per pupil: the average cost, calculated by the rates prevailing in 12 districts, was Rs. 1,135 or Rs. 25 per pupil. The buildings, erected since, more or less followed this design, and they were considered to be very well-lighted and generally suitable. The general criticism evoked was not so much the design of the building as the apparently unnecessary cost of their construction in some instances, due perhaps to the addition of compound walls and other extras

which could be omitted. An alternative plan, with the lighting entirely from one side of the building, was prepared in 1914 by the Government architect: this plan was more elaborate and expensive. It was tolerably clear that no standard plan could be devised which suited all circumstances and localities—a small outlying village school, for instance, equally with one which might be expected to grow into a middle school later. Possibly the verandah type of building, with open arches on the side least exposed to the sun, and windows that could be screened or shuttered on the opposite side, was considered to be the best for adoption in many cases. Local Bodies usually erected substantial buildings in preference to temporary ones, with a view to economy in repairs: the expensiveness of this course could be lessened if more effort were made to induce the residents to contribute part of the cost, as had been done with success in some districts. And the plan of entrusting repairs to local agency, which was said to work well in Amritsar and Multan was worthy of more general adoption.

Although the provision of school accommodation had been greatly hindered by want of funds appreciable advance was recorded. But still with few exceptions the accommodation was either inadequate, uncomfortable, or insanitary; and sometimes was all three. It was feared that a long time would elapse before school accommodation in the Province could be placed on a satisfactory footing and endeavours should be made in the meantime to

enlist, as far as possible, the co-operation of the people in the erection of simple buildings for village schools.

A five-year building scheme was introduced in 1915. Insistence was laid on sanitary sites, on light and ventilation, but throughout the greater part of the year the classes were held out of doors. The general complaint was that a considerable number of schools had no habitation of their own with the result that classes were held in insanitary and incommodious houses which were either rented or borrowed for the purpose. The District Boards were making efforts to remedy the evil. It was noticed in 1915 that the majority of the people in most districts were keenly alive to the benefits of education, and gladly joined hands with the authorities in providing new school houses if the District Boards were to subsidize the village committees and ask them to put up school houses at new centres. The experiments had been tried with success in the Amritsar District. The building thus provided were cheaper and the burden of the Boards was considerably lightened.

The adoption of some simple type of Primary school buildings, to be modified where necessary to suite local conditions, seemed desirable as the cost of such buildings varied very greatly under different Boards without any apparent reason.

Great divergence of opinion was still found as to the proper form of building for a village primary

school. Few were found to justify the expenditure of a large sum on a primary school building. On the other hand the advocates of cheap kuchha school-houses overlooked the fact that such buildings in short time would double their initial cost in repairs, which formed no inconsiderable tax on the annual resources of District Boards. The open shelter or shady tree, whose cheapness formed its chief attraction, seemed peculiarly unsuitable to a climate where dust storms were not infrequent and the variations in temperature were so extreme as in the Punjab. It was sometimes supported on the score of health but where open air schools were conducted the clothing of the children was adopted to the weather. "In American 'roof-garden' schools which are open all the year round" to quote from a medical report. "lessons are carried on when the temperature of the 'class-room' is considerably below zero, but in that case the children are provided with furs, and proper provision is made for adequate feeding." Although the cold is not so extreme in the Punjab, it is sufficiently intense and neither furs nor feeding could be expected from District Boards.

The solution seemed to lie in the provision of decent but not too expensive school-houses for all well-established board schools. Roughly speaking from twenty to twenty-five rupees per boy in average attendance was taken as a basis for an estimate in normal times. A well-built school-house is in itself an educative influence, and certainly adds con-

siderably to the prestige of the school and the teacher. It is difficult for a teacher to take a proper pride in a school conducted in a mud tenement.

There was a serious loss in accommodation owing to the action of the weather. In the Hissar District, for example, the majority of the school-houses which were kacha collapsed or were seriously damaged by the unusually heavy rains, a practical corroboration of the adverse criticism passed on this class of school building.

There was a suggestion made in 1917 from Mr. Wright which was commended by Mr. Richey, for the consideration of the Co-operative Department that Co-operative Societies might invest their money in the erection of rural school buildings, receiving as interest the rental of the buildings. This could serve the local interest. The District Boards aided in the uphill task of providing accommodation for their rural schools, although District Boards obtained no regular assistance from Provincial Revenues towards the erection of school buildings.

The opening of new primary schools and the conversion of aided elementary schools into board schools, in pursuance of the policy of expansion rendered the situation still more serious in 1919. Government, however, was taking necessary steps and it was hoped that the liberal offers of grants to District Boards, would bring much needed relief. Government undertook to bear from 75 per cent. to 100 per cent. of the cost of new buildings. A

standard plan for a cheap and efficient primary school was prepared in 1919 and copies were circulated for the information and guidance of Inspectors and Local Authorities. This liberal offer gave a great impetus to the Local Bodies to take up the work of building school-houses. But some of the schools were still housed in defective, unsuitable, borrowed or rented buildings. After a general survey of the Primary school buildings it was discovered that on an average, about half the schools in each district needed new buildings of their own, while many of the existing buildings needed extensions to cope with the largely increased enrolment. This was particularly the case in the poorer districts in the western half of the Province, where *dairas* (chaupals) and private houses available for school purposes were usually of an inferior type and where, besides, the increase in enrolment had been the greatest. Since 1918, 417 new buildings had been constructed and 110 enlarged upto the year 1923. but owing to the opening of new schools and to the large increase in attendance, the position had not been materially improved. The remedy lay in reducing the cost of construction in order that the money available might go further. Progress in Primary education would have undoubtedly been greatly stimulated had it been possible to increase the supply of school buildings. In fact, heavy arrears had been left as a legacy from the past. Since the inauguration of the five-year programme for the expansion and improvement of vernacular education in 1918 Government contributed 21½ lakhs

as building grants to Local Bodies. District Boards also contributed their quota, and in many instances the people themselves gave of their substance or their labour. The net result of these efforts was the construction of 615 and the extension of 140 Primary school buildings.

Hasty action in the construction of Primary school buildings was to be deprecated as Mr. J. Leitch Wilson emphasised this in his report of 1917. "A very large number of these primary schools are still housed in rented buildings, the quality and nature of which vary considerably. District Boards should not be encouraged to expend funds on the construction of Primary school buildings in view of the policy that, wherever and whenever possible, flourishing Primary school should be converted into lower middle schools. When a Primary school has reached this stage of development, then a suitable building should be erected. Where a Primary school cannot flourish independently it would be more satisfactory and economical to connect such a school into a two-class branch school and to attach it to a middle school. If this is accepted, then it would be wasteful to construct a new building."

Primary schools under private management were generally miserably housed. This was also true of a large number of Municipal Board schools.

The innovation introduced in 1929 in some districts where the village schoolmasters were en-

trusted with the work of schools repairs on a fixed annual allowance for each school was much approved. The teachers, being the employees of the District Board, worked under the general supervision of the District Educational and Engineering staffs.

At present the shortage of funds stand in the way of building activities. A large number of schools are still housed in unsatisfactory buildings rented or occupied free. Quite a number of Primary schools are reported to be held under the shade of trees.

The educational utility of a school building need hardly be over-estimated. It is gratifying to record that the Punjab Education Department is already on its way to realize the goal that all the Primary schools should be housed in a suitable and sanitary building with nice shady compounds and school gardens.

CHAPTER XII.

INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION, 1928.

As provided in section 84-A of the Government of India Act, 1919, a Commission was appointed in 1928 for the purpose of inquiry into the working of the system of Government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and to report whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible Government. The appointment of this Commission is a great landmark not only in the constitutional history, but in the history of the growth of education in India. The Commission was mainly concerned with education and its organisation in relation to political and constitutional conditions and potentialities. The work of conducting a special enquiry on this subject was delegated by the Commission under authority conferred on them by Royal Warrant, to an Auxiliary Committee, presided over by Sir Philip Hartog, which included other prominent educationists, British and Indians, as named in this chapter.

There were two questions to answer: To what extent has education fostered or is tending to foster, in the people of British India a capacity for understanding and forming intelligent opinions on

civic and political issues? And to what extent has it provided or is tending to provide, a directing class capable of sane and inspiring leadership in the political field, and of initiative and efficiency in the administration? In other words the Commission had to estimate the effect both in respect of performance and promise, firstly of mass education, and, secondly, of higher education, on the life, capacity and character of the people of British India, in relation to political progress.

The Commission was of opinion that whatever view might be taken of the merits or demerits of the past or present administration of Indian education, the hard fact remains that the inherent difficulties of the problems which ministers have to face, and which their predecessors had to face, are immense.

“To spread education among the masses of India, to make it effective, to maintain a good standard, and to adjust it in its various grades to the needs of the people, is a very big task indeed. Even if the zealous educationist concentrates his efforts on the development of simple literacy, he encounters obstacles which he cannot quickly remove or evade”. The Indian villager may be willing for his child to go to school for a year or two, but, as soon as the child can give help in the fields or the home, economic pressure and long tradition are strong inducements to take the child away, especially as the cultivator does not, as a rule, value education for its own sake. Nine-tenths of the

Indian population—that is to say, about one-sixth of the human race—live in the villages of India, and most of these villages are so small and scattered that the provision of effective primary education is expensive and difficult to organize. There are formidable obstacles arising from caste and communal feelings. It is not too much to say that the establishment of a really satisfactory system of mass education in India, and the creation thereby of an educated peasantry, constitute one of the most tremendous problems which educationists have ever had to face.”

The Hartog Committee consisted of the following members :—

1. Sir Philip Hartog, Kt., C.I.E., *Chairman.*
2. Sir Amherst Selly Bigge Bart, K. C. B.
3. Sir Sayed Sultan Ahmed, Kt., C.I.E.
4. Sir George Anderson, Kt., C.I.E.
5. Raja Narendra Nath.
6. Mrs. Muthalakhshmi Reddi, M. L. C.

The Committee was designated as “The Auxiliary Committee on the growth of education” or the Hartog Committee as is commonly called. Out of the questionnaire issued by the Committee the most important was the question of Primary or village education and the application of compulsion in primary schools.

The Committee observed "That concurrently with the numerical expansion there has been a slow, but steady breakdown of the obstacles that stood in the way of the spread of primary education. The violation imposed by distance on the extension of education is gradually being lessened by the building of new roads and railways and by the provision of motor services which are linking up even remote villages with the main streams of life and activity. The age of marriage is gradually rising. In short, there is now an increased demand for education for it has come to be regarded generally as a matter of primary national importance—an indispensable agency in the difficult task of 'nation building.'"

"Primary education in towns has been found out comparatively easier to provide, organise and make efficient, because schools and staffs are larger, good teachers are easier to secure and adequate supervision and inspection can be more easily provided. In rural areas school units are usually small, adequate staffing is more expensive, the conditions of life are not attractive to teachers unless they are specially selected and trained, women teachers cannot, as a rule, live in villages unless circumstances are exceptionally favourable, the teachers are isolated and the difficulties of administration, supervision and inspection are much greater and it is more difficult to secure regular and prolonged attention of children."

The Committee was of opinion that Primary education was ineffective unless the only definite

material for ascertaining the prevalence of literacy in India was that provided by the Census.*

Tables indicate that the diminution has been enormous in the past and that out of every 100 pupils (boys and girls) who were in Class I in 1922-23 only 18 were reading in Class IV in 1925-26. This is due to two causes, what we call 'wastage and stagnation'. By wastage is meant the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the Primary Course and by stagnation is meant the retention in a lower class of a child for a period of more than one year.

But in interpreting the figures it is true that some allowance must be made for special circumstances. A period of rapid expansion naturally results in an abnormal enlargement of Class I and as a consequence a temporary disproportion between the numbers in Class I and those in the higher classes.

The losses due to wastage prevent all but a few pupils from becoming literate, but even of these few it is not possible to say with any confidence that many will not relapse into illiteracy. The explanation of such relapse is simple. Retention of literacy acquired at the early age of ten or eleven depends largely on encouragement, and the environments of the great majority of our pupils who leave school at the Primary stage, are not conducive to such retention. The parents in the village home

*Pages 46, 47, Indian Statutory Commission.

are illiterate and are too poor to buy books. To combat this tendency sporadic attempts have been made though not on a large scale, to encourage night schools, classes for women, lantern lectures, village libraries and so forth, but very little has been done so far on a systematic basis. In the Punjab so far 3,784 adult schools have been started for men, where 98,414 adults read and 2 for women having 53 pupils in all.

Again much criticism has been levelled against the curricula adapted in Primary schools. 'A curriculum' the Committee viewed "unrelated to the conditions of village life results in divorce between the interests of the schools and the interests of the home and in the stifling of the belief among the rural population that little benefit is to be obtained from the sacrifice involved in sending their children to school "

Modifications in the curricula were suggested by the Committee so that the pupils should read about things familiar to them and should calculate the value of these articles which may be in common use in the life of the village. But mere changes in formal curricula produce little result unless a corresponding change takes place in the attitude of the teacher and of the person who supervises and guides the teacher. The Commission recognised that the road to their objective lay through a wise selection and an effective training of the village teachers rather than through mere changes in the curricula.

The Commission also suggested ways and means by which the present system of primary education could be considerably improved and the obstacles removed. The writer commends readers to study the Report of the Auxiliary Committee, which is replete with facts and figures to show how much remains to be done in the country as regards mass or popular education.

CHAPTER XIII.

SCOPE AND POSSIBILITIES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB.

A short history of the development of primary education in the Punjab as sketched in the foregoing chapters shows that much has still to be done for mass education in spite of the best efforts of the Government for the dissemination of literacy. This is mainly owing to the general indifference of the masses especially the agricultural labouring class, on account of their economic backwardness. The British connection with India has throughout been marked by progressive efforts to plan and apply an educational policy and the summary of the last hundred years in this respect is one of which no Englishman need feel ashamed in the eyes of Indians who appreciate the immense difficulties to be surmounted. There were some defects in the educational system too, as already discussed which resulted in the alienation of the boys from their father's calling and the creation of a sort of dislike for any sort of manual work. The spread of Primary education among the artisan classes tended to bring manual labour into contempt and the sons of artisans educated up to the Primary standard showed a distinct tendency to forsake their father's calling in favour of service, howsoever low. Secondly it resulted in a great draw-

back that a considerable portion of the taught relapsed into illiteracy after leaving the school.

Accordingly during the whole period of British Administration in the Punjab strong measures were taken to remedy the above defects.

" As to the first, Government is even now evolving a scheme for the doing away of the wrong system of education. The most effective measure to remove this difficulty which the Government is determined to put into practical effect, is the establishing of Agricultural and Industrial Schools designed to combine with technical instruction, a good elementary education. The old motto of 3 R's does not singly prove useful. The changing economic condition of the Province have brought this lesson home to the Government".*

As for the second, measures have been taken to counteract this tendency. A general provision has been made very recently for the institution of libraries, post—primary and continuation classes so that the pupils should make use of their lately-won literacy for beneficial purposes. District Committees have been constituted and made responsible for the provision of all means that should eventually tend to the enrichment of the life of the countryside. Means have been adopted to the knowledge of the uninformed; the most important developments in Agricultural and Hygienic Science, in the

* Despatch on the Development of Industrial Education in the Punjab. J. A. Richey, June, 1918

breeding of cattle, in the methods of combating and preventing common aliments and diseases, in the value of co-operation and in the elementary principle of civic life.”*

Further the Punjab Government has been giving expression to the definite opinion that the pressing educational need of the Province at this stage is the removal of illiteracy from among the masses. A recognition of this need has influenced their policy in the matter of expansion and improvement of Primary education. The question of removal of illiteracy especially in the rural areas is of immense importance not only on account of vast number of people involved, but because humanity stands in debt to India for priceless treasures of philosophy, art, literature and exact mathematics. If the country is adequately educated in the remotest hamlets as well as in towns she promises to make even greater contributions to world civilization. However, unless the masses are truly educated, the life will be corrupt and chaotic. With the increasingly closer communications all men are sure to suffer if the majority of the people who reside in villages continue as slaves to ignorance and superstitions.

The whole country is undergoing startling changes. Several branches of administration in the Province have been placed largely under popular direction under the Reforms. Staggering are the difficulties in the way of making popular education

* “Removal of illiteracy,” by Sir George Anderson, May, 1923.

play its rightful part in the present changes. The Government at first directed more money and attention to town education ; for the town schools were closer and more responsive. The original hope was that, after the towns received some education, the effects of schooling would automatically filter down to the masses, but it did not happen so. Since the introduction of Political reforms in the beginning of 1921 Government has been trying to meet the obligation of a certain minimum of general instruction on the part of the State by making elementary education compulsory and free. Then it was suggested that the gradual and tactful introduction of compulsion would provide the most fruitful solution of the problem. Great difficulties stood in the way, the poverty of many of the parents, the impossibility of employing women as teachers in boy's Primary Schools, the necessity of making separate provisions for girls, caste differences, the vast distances involved and the need of additional funds. The increased facilities made in the training of Vernacular teachers resulted in an adequate supply of trained teachers. *

In the last decade Primary education has made marvellous progress as can be verified by the figures available in the reports of the Punjab Education Department to which some reference has already been made.

The age of the boys of school going-age has been fixed from 6 to 11 years and a census of the

* Compulsory Education Act of 1919.

boys of school-going age is taken every year to see how far the people have realized the importance of education.

To sweep away illiteracy the Government felt the obligation of educating the illiterate adults and started adult schools and village libraries. But still these schools are of a temporary nature, being seasonal and are expected to improve in efficiency considerably in course of time.* The need is great and the efforts are yet circumscribed with the limitation of funds. "Our land revenue tells a tale of increasing wealth to great proprietors but still more of the abundance of necessaries of life to the small tillers of the soil. They are the men we must strive to help. They are to a great extent the backbone of the population of the Province. On their welfare depends much of the happiness and contentment of the people. They are the patient humble millions toiling at the well and at the plough, knowing little of budgets, but very painfully aware of the narrow margin between sufficiency and indigence."†

The village school has recently been regarded as the Community Centre of all activities to bring the peasants in contact with the order of modern civilization and keep him pace to pace with the town's people. Rural Community Councils have been established in the Province and branches opened at each District headquarters to carry on

* Education of Adults by Sir George Anderson. 1925.

† Mr. Gokhale's speech in the Legislative Assembly on the introduction of a Bill on Compulsory Primary Education.

propaganda work in the villages for their uplift. The teachers are trained in the village Guide Course and are to serve as true guides to the village people in matters of their Education, Agriculture, Sanitation, Public Health and Co-operation, etc.

The writer has been in direct contact with the village people. Their ignorance and resignation to customs and superstitions are still deplorable and it may be said from his personal experience that very little has been done in that direction so far, and unless these village people awaken to the need of village education and their uplift, the one mainspring of the machinery of the country will remain inactive. Many districts have enforced compulsion of Primary education in most of their areas and the time is soon to come when the Province as a whole will accept it. The essence of the country problem now is to find means to bring together all classes of people in co-operation for the common good.

The Department proposed in 1928 to encourage the expansion of compulsory education in rural areas by awarding of grants for new areas in the form of additional teachers entirely at Government expense, provided compulsion was extended by administrative units. The successful application of Compulsory Primary education is obstructed by the present cumbrous procedure involved in the prosecution of cases which may be brought against parents. The procedure at present is that the Attendance Officer lays the complaint before the Attendance Com-

mittee and after obtaining the sanction of that body forwards the complaint to the District Magistrate who may at his discretion issue orders to one of his subordinate officials to proceed with the case. This procedure involves an enormous waste of time and when the parent is prosecuted such a long period of time may have elapsed that the fault which caused the origin of the complaint, may have in the interim been rectified and therefore the case is dismissed. It is gratifying to note that the Punjab Education Department has taken steps to arrange that the Attendance Officers with the approval of the Attendance Committee may be empowered to forward such complaints to the Magistrate of the *Ilqa* in which the school concerned is situated and that the Magistrate has been directed to dispose of these cases summarily and expeditiously.

There is another defect too in the Act of 1919, i.e., it does not prescribe the contributions to be made by Government, but in practice Local Authorities are graded by Government in respect to their financial position and capacity and grants are assessed in accordance with the grading of each Authority.

An interesting discovery was made in 1928 by the Hartog Committee as to what they called as "stagnation" and "wastage." Children who did not for one reason or another advance from one class to a higher and consequently 'stagnated,' or who, after a year or two of instruction, forsook the school altogether for the traditional duty of

Indian childhood, the tending of the family flocks and herds, were not likely to swell the ranks of literates. The Committee was correct in its view that a sustained course of instruction for a minimum period of four years is essential to establish a literacy that lasts. The Committee gave comparative figures of attendance in Primary schools in India in successive years as below:—

Serial No.	Province.	Class I 1922-23.	Class II 1923-24.	Class III 1924-25.	Class IV 1925-26.	Class V 1926-27.
1	Madras ..	..	765,772	314,172	243,888	196,702
2	Bombay ..	..	252,274	134,513	121,607	102,506
3	Bengal ..	..	769,080	277,235	167,912	87,116
4	United Provinces ..	..	403,094	149,807	108,951	88,218
5	Punjab ..	..	277,120	9,104	78,517	67,968
6	Burma ..	..	146,852	38,256	30,197	24,953
7	Bihar and Orissa ..	..	351,194	145,750	50,032	38,486
8	Central Provinces ..	..	102,852	57,458	48,593	46,700
9	Assam ..	..	119,078	29,862	27,538	19,874
Total British India						
		3,453,046	1,218,758	807,572	655,101	393,465

Making every allowance for the situation created by the sudden large influx into the lowest classes of primary schools, which followed in the wake of the reforms, that, of the 277,120 boys who entered Class I in schools in the Punjab in 1922-23, only 67,968 survived to reach Class IV in 1925-26, and that the rest had fallen out by the way or had vegetated in lower classes without any prospect of attaining even initial literacy, is lamentably significant. The members of the Indian Statutory Commission observed in their report on page 385 Volume I :--“We are inevitably driven to the conclusion that the efforts of the past few years have resulted in much less real advance towards the attainment of the goal of a literate population in British India than the gross total of numbers under instruction might suggest, and that, if these efforts are continued in the same lines, they afford little promise for the future.”

“ While the ignorance and indifference in matters of education, which still, though to a diminishing degree, envelop the ordinary Indian household, constitute the main obstacle to real progress, we can not resist the conclusion that the failure, even in existing circumstances, to achieve more substantial results is due mainly to ineffective control, direction and administration. Until these are improved, figures of quantitative expansion will be wholly illusory as an index of increasing literacy, and much of the present expenditure of money, enthusiasm and effort will be futile. We

do not mean to suggest that stagnation and wastage or the subsequent relapse into illiteracy due to un congenial or adverse environment are new phenomena, or that the one-teacher school and the inadequately qualified and underpaid primary school masters (factors which largely discount the value of primary education imparted in many parts of India to-day), are novel features of the Reform period. Far from it. It is, however, undoubtedly the fact that the operation of these causes of waste was unconsciously and unwittingly intensified by the very enthusiasm which impelled Ministers to insufficiently considered advance on the old lines. Acting under the continued pressure of public opinion and assisted by legislatures which readily voted progressively increasing grants for education in their desire to remove the national reproach of illiteracy, they embarked almost everywhere on large schemes of quantitative expansion without securing to themselves any adequate power of control and direction. In some cases, indeed, they actually abandoned much of the power which they had inherited, holding apparently that some sort of school and some sort of instruction, however, inefficient, were better than no school or instruction at all. Their quite sincere and well-intentioned efforts have been crippled by radical defects of organisation that term in its widest sense—defects which have been progressively revealed by the increased strain put upon it."

"In emphasising the qualifications upon the real advance which has been made in mass education

lation to the boys, in the Punjab and other provinces and the percentage of literates in each case."

Province.	Boys' Schools.		Percentage.	Girls' Schools.		Percentage.
	1922-23 Class I.	1925-26 Classes IV.		1922-23 Class I.	1925-26 Class IV.	
Madras ..	765,772	106,702	26	116,615	18,402	16
Bombay ..	252,274	102,506	41	48,080	14,723	31
Bengal ..	709,090	87,116	11	195,534	4,230	2
United Provinces	498,094	48,218	18	42,705	3,275	8
Punjab ...	277,120	67,968	23	30,488	5,752	16
Burma ..	146,852	24,953	17	22,934	4,161	18
Bihar & Orissa	351,104	30,486	14	40,646	1,091	3
Central Province	102,852	46,700	40	9,452	2,174	23
Assam ..	119,078	10,784	17	10,268	0.13	9

The percentage of scholars to the population of the Punjab stood as 9.32 for boys, 1.74 for girls in 1931. This shows a grave disproportion between the number of boys and girls. Unfortunately, just when the people have begun to be keen on educating their girls, shortage of funds is retarding progress.

Co-education which is the cheapest, though not the best form of education for children in Primary classes, has been tried in recent years, in some districts. Where there are efficient girls' schools with good buildings and women teachers, there is no objection to little boys coming with their sisters. Women are usually better teachers for little children than men, but are more expensive; for the rates of salaries for trained women are still high. But the girls attending boys' schools have little protection as they are being brought up in an atmosphere not conducive to the development of qualities of gentleness, reserve, and quiet behaviour which is inherent in the Indian ideal of womanhood.

Mr. Wilson's comparison of the condition in the Punjab with those of Scotland as given in the Report on the progress of Education in the Punjab 1930-31, at page 10 indicates a plausible excuse for the shortcomings as regards 'wastage and stagnation' and goes to prove that the Punjab is not so disappointingly backward as sketched in the report of the Auxiliary Committee. In the report on education in Scotland for the year 1929-30 great stress is laid on the problems of retardation in rural schools. Retardation is only another term for

what we call 'stagnation'. The most important cause of stagnation in rural schools in Scotland is said to be migration. This is not an unfamiliar problem in the Punjab; in recent years there has been an outstanding instance of migration in the depopulation of some of the villages in the Punjab owing to economic conditions. There is, both in the Punjab and Scotland, the problem of permanent migration.

Mr. Man Mohan, Inspector of the Jullundhur Division, is very sanguine about the future of schools for co-education. He wrote in 1931 in his report :—

"At a boy's primary school in the Kangra district which I visited recently, I was told that girls, a few of them between the ages of nine and twelve, came from the neighbouring villages, one to two miles distant and were carefully escorted by the boys of the same school; and that they never had any mishap or complaint. If this can happen in a conservative old-fashioned district like Kangra, the future of co-education in the province can not be quite hopeless."

There is still opposition to this experiment in most of the quarters of the Punjab owing to conservatism and religious susceptibilities. The scheme is in the course of its experiment and the results are still to be watched.

There are some further suggestions to offer to make Primary education more popular and effective

by improving primary school curriculum and teacher for which the Department is already on its way to progress. As regards the curriculum the remarks as given in the report on rural education in England and Punjab at page 13, by Mr. Sanderson and Mr. Parkinson are worth reading for the guidance of all interested in rural education.

As to the latter various suggestions have been offered by educationists which are probably discussed in a report of the Compulsory Primary Education Committee constituted in 1930 under the Presidency of Mr. Sanderson to make enquiries into the different aspects of Primary education. The report is expected to be shortly out. The recommendations of the Committee evidently will be more realistic than those which the writer can possibly offer with his limited knowledge and experience.

Thus there is a vast scope for the development of mass education in the Punjab where every effort is being made by the Department by means of constant propaganda and other resources to make the people realize that the capital of a country does not consist in cash or paper, but in the brains and bodies of the people who inhabit it. The real awakening of the people on the side of educational and social progress is a feature of real promise. The gallant determination of the pioneers of education in the Punjab is blazing the trail, but more than a decade of enthusiasm is necessary to break through obstacles which centur

have helped to build up. There is much evidence that a discriminating and well considered extension of compulsory primary education would be not only effective, but popular. Universal compulsory education is for the present hardly a practical policy, if only on the grounds of finance, but the gradual application of the principle of compulsion, even if it involves abandonment of the indiscriminate multiplication of schools and some elimination of existing schools which are ineffective, is obviously the line on which a higher return of educational value is to be obtained. This policy has proved acceptable to many groups of the 'common people' who have come under it. It is to the credit of the Punjab Education Department that it has embarked on the most ambitious schemes of far-reaching effect for the amelioration of the masses.

ROLL OF HONOUR CONCERNED WITH THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE PUNJAB.

Ministers who took over the portfolios of education since 1921.

Serial No.	Name.	Period.
		From To
(1)	Sir Mian Fazal-i-Hussain, K. B.	3-1-1921 31-2-1925.
(2)	Ch. Chhotu Ram	1926 1927.
(3)	Mr. Manohar Lal	1927 1930.
(4)	Malik Feroz Khan Noon.	1930

DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Serial No.	Name.	Period.
		From To
(1)	Mr. Arnold	1856 1859. He founded the Education Dept.
(2)	Captain A. R. Fuller	1860 1867.
(3)	Captain W. R. M. Holroyd.	1868 1871.
(4)	Mr. J. G. Cordery	1871—1872 (Officiating).
(5)	Mr. C. Pearson	1872—1872 (Officiating for some months).
(6)	Again No. (4)	1872—1872 (Officiating).
(7)	Again No. (5)	May 1873—January 1874 (Officiating)

They have been the pioneers in education.

(8) Again No. 3. February 1874—1883.
 (He was made Major in 1874 and Lt.-Colonel in 1879).

(9) Mr. Denzil Ibbetson 1884—1885 (Officiating).
 He is the only Director to become the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

(10) Col. Holroyd 1885—1890.

(11) Mr. J. Sime 1890—1898.

(12) Mr. W. Bell 12th January 1899—25th March 1899 (acting).

(13) Again No. 11 March 1899—14th May 1901.

(14) Again No. 12 15th May 1901—14th May 1907.
 (Proceeded on leave from 22-6-1904 to 21-9-1904, when Mr. W. C. Renouf, C. S. (Officiated).

15. Mr. J. G. Godley 1907—1915.
 (He officiated for Mr. Bell in May and June 1907 during his absence on privilege leave and from the 7th October 1907 on his furlough. He was made permanent Director from October 1908).

16. Mr. Crosse Officiated for 6 months in 1912-13 when Mr. Godley proceeded on privilege leave.

17. Mr. J. A. Richey Officiated from the 15th June to the end of December 1915. He was appointed as permanent Director of Public Instruction on the first of April 1917, *vice* Mr. Godley retired. Mr. Richey proceeded on leave in November 1919 when Col. W. T. Wright Officiated and retired in November 1920. He was recalled from leave to take up the appointment of Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. "Mr. Richey's period of office as Director has been a landmark in the history of education in the Punjab," *vide* Punjab Government Review of the Report on the Progress of education in the Punjab for the year 1919-20, page 5. Mr. Richey was awarded C.I. E. in January 1919 in recognition of the great value of his work.

18. Colonel W. T. Wright. Officiated from November 1919 November 1920.

19. Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.E.S. 1920—1931.

with few intermissions when Mr. Tydeman and Mr. Sanderson officiated. The province was really fortunate to secure the services of Sir George Anderson to fill this office of ever-increasing difficulty and importance. His wide and varied experience of University problems and of education in all its grades rendered him eminently fitted to grapple with the difficulties inherent in the transition from the old to the reformed regime and in transition from the old ideals and methods of education to new aspects and schemes. A knighthood was conferred on him in January 1924, the highest title ever bestowed on a member of the Education Department in this province. The Punjab owes much to Sir George Ander-

son for his contribution to the large and comprehensive programme of reform and expansion which had been carried through. His services to the advancement of the cause of education in this province have been greatly appreciated. He proceeded on leave in the earlier part of the year 1928 and was put on deputation with the Government of India as a member of the Indian Education Committee associated with the Indian Statutory Commission. He went on leave for 8 months from 1st March 1930 and resumed charge on 27th October 1930. Mr. R. Sanderson officiated. He practically retired in 1931 and the Punjab Government (Ministry of Education) recorded its deep appreciation of his great ability, energy and knowledge which made possible his masterly development in particular of Vernacular education throughout the province.

When Sir George came to the Punjab, it was almost always called the backward Punjab, now other provinces look up to it for guidance in many educational matters. The Punjab is indeed indebted to him for his great educational work and most efficient administration of the Education Department throughout ten and a half years of remarkable progress. He is now appointed as President of the Punjab University Commission.

23. Mr. R. Sanderson, M.A., I.E.S. Mr. Sanderson joined the Department on 20th October 1909 as Master in charge of the Sanawar Training Class for European teachers. He was placed on special duty in 1912-13 to assist in the inspection of schools in the Lahore Division, appointed to the Indian Educational Service in 1914 and transferred to the inspection line. He held charge of European Schools in 1916 and was permitted to join the Army Department as Inspector of

Physical training and bayonet fighting to the sixteenth division and to carry on the office work of his civil appointment at the same time; but this dual arrangement did not prove very satisfactory. He was appointed as Inspector of Schools, Ambala Division, *vice* Mr. Knowlton and subsequently of the Lahore Division. He proceeded on leave in 1923 when K. B. Sheikh Nur Elahi temporarily took his place. He returned in the autumn of 1926 and occupied the post of Inspector of Training Institutions. He officiated as Director of Public Instruction from the 7th October, 1927. He again officiated as Director of Public Instruction from 1-3-1930 to the year 1931. He was duly confirmed in 1931. Under his guidance and direction the Department is attaining the consolidation of expansion achieved in previous years. He also

held charge of the office of the Deputy Directress of Public Instruction, Punjab, in addition to his own duties from 21-8-1930 to 27-10-1930. With his wide and varied experience, the Department hopes to prosper in all branches of its activities. He is a joint author of 'Rural Education in England and the Punjab' with Mr. Parkinson.

Assistant Directors of Public Instruction.

(1) Mr. J. H. Towle Joined on March 12th in 1918.
 1918—1921.

(2) Mr. D. Reynell Joined the Department on 22nd April 1919, as Inspector of Schools; worked as A. D. P. I. from 1922 to 1931 with few intermissions when Mr. Parkinson officiated in 1925 and 1928; and Mr. Armstrong who officiated from the middle of March to 27th October 1925. He joined as Secretary of the Public Service Commission in 1931.

(3) K. B. Sheikh He joined the Department on
Nur Elahi, M. A., 4th October 1905 as a Pro-
I. E. S. fessor in the Government
 College, Lahore. He worked
 as Inspector of Schools for
 a number of years in the
 Multan and Lahore Divi-
 sions. He was appointed as
 A. D. P. I. in 1931. He
 is the first Indian appointed
 to this post. He is a
 pioneer of many of the
 educational activities in
 this Province.

INSPECTORS OF VERNACULAR EDUCATION.

(1) K. B. Syed Maqbul 1921—1931.
Shah, B.A., I.E.S. He rendered great service
 to the cause of vernacu-
 lar education in the
 Punjab.

(2) Chaudri Mohamad 1931.
Hussain, B.A., B.T., P.E.S. He holds a brilliant career
 in the Punjab Education
 Department and is keenly
 interested in vernacular
 education.

PRINCIPALS, CENTRAL TRAINING COLLEGE, LAHORE.

(1) Mr. Dick 1880—1885.

(2) Mr. Bell 1885—1886.

(3) Mr. Haden Cope 1886—1887.

He also officiated as Inspector of Schools Lahore Circle and of European Schools from April 1887 to November 1888. He resumed charge of the office of the Principal in 1888 and worked as such upto 1897.

(4) Mr. H. T. Knowlton. 1897—1919.

He also officiated as Inspector of Schools. Mr. Wright acted as Principal for two periods in the year 1899-1900. Mr. Knowlton held the post for 22 years with few intermissions and retired in May 1919.

(5) Mr. H. G. Wyatt 1919—1924.

(6) Mr. J. E. Parkinson, M.A., I.E.S. He joined the Department on 10th March 1913, as Vice-Principal of the Central Training College. He worked as Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi Division, for some time and also officiated as A. D. P. I. He

has held the present office permanently from 8th August 1926. He is keenly interested in the problems of education. His services to the cause of education in the Punjab are too numerous to enumerate. He is a joint Author of 'Rural Education in England and the Punjab' with Mr. Sanderson.

NOTE.—As regards the Roll of Honour in girls' education in the Punjab, please see the end of chapter under that head in this book.

It may be stated that the dates given above are taken from the annual reports of the Punjab Education Department.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(A). BOOKS CONSULTED.

1. *Arnold. "The 'beginnings of Western Education in the Punjab" 1856-57.*

This is the first report published by the Punjab Education Department which lays down the policy of the Department in the introduction of Education in this Province.

2. *Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E., I. E. S., 'The Education of India.'*

The author is the late Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces of India. He has written a book of 306 pages on the education of India and gives an up-to-date useful information regarding the Educational problems about India. It is a useful study of British Educational policy in India, 1835—1920.

3. *A. S. Wood-Burne—Human Nature and Education.*

This book is intended to afford a breathing place where old problems may be considered in the light of psychological Science that is growing in exactitude. This book is extremely serviceable to teachers in India.

4. *Anderson, George Sir--Removal of illiteracy.*

5. " " " " *Education for adults.*

These two pamphlets give most useful information regarding the Educational problems of the Punjab. The author is the late Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab.

6. *D. J. Fleming, P. H. D.—“The report of a Commission of Inquiry.”*

At a Conference of representatives of the Missionary Societies in Great Britain held in the autumn of 1916 the Bishop of Madras drew attention to the problems connected with the mass movements towards Christianity in India, the severe degree of illiteracy in the Indian Christian Community and the need for a thorough study of the best means of meeting the educational needs of the villages of India. The Commission consisted of 5 members of which D. J. Fleming was the Secretary. It is a useful information on the educational needs of the Indian villages.

7. *F. R. Tomlinson, M. A., I. E. S.—*

Imperial Education Conference, 1923, published by the “Bureau of Education India,” pamphlet No. 16.

This conference laid stress on the importance of the questions of practical educational method arising out of the investigation of such facts.

8. *G. W. Leitner—“History of Indigenous education In The Punjab.”*

It is the only reliable information on the working, growth and decay of indigenous schools in the province ; for the author has been himself in the Punjab Education Department.

9. *Gokhale, G. N. “Practical Education”.*

The idea set forth in these pages are neither new nor original, but information has been gathered from other sources on the various problems of Education, Technical, Industrial and Religious.

10. *Gokhale, G. N., “His speech on the introduction of compulsory Primary Education.”*

11. *R. Sanderson, M. A., I.E.S.—The present Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab,*

and

J. E. Parkinson, M. A., I.E.S.—Principal, Central Training College, Lahore.

“Rural Education in England and in the Punjab.” It is a useful pamphlet comparing the various conditions, methods, aims of rural Education in this province with those of England and suggesting thereby the remedies to remove the defects into the prevailing system of our rural education.

12 & 13. *J. A. Richey, late Director of Public Instructions of the Punjab.*

(1) "Industrial Education".

(2) "Selections from educational records, Part II (1840—59)."

These books too afford useful information about the development of education in this country.

14. *Keay, F. E. Revd.*—"Ancient Indian Education".

It is a thesis of 183 pages, one of the most useful books for a student of the history of Ancient Indian Education. It is indeed a pioneer effort for tracing out the development of education in India since the Brahmanic Ascendency.

15. *Mason Olcot*—"Village Schools in India."

In the light of prevailing rural conditions the book deals with the first five or six years of school life. It aims at practical and constructive suggestions for improvement and reforms. The writer highly commends this study to all who share the responsibility for the full development of India's children and youth.

16. *Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B. L.*—"Promotion of learning in India," published in 1916.

It is a book of 205 pages. Mr. Law's work covers a period of over 7 centuries. He begins

with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and ends with the close of the 18th century. This is probably the first work which specially deals with the share taken by the Muslim conquerors in the promotion of Indian learning. This book is a guide to a research student of the promotion of learning in this country.

17. *“Indian Education Commission Report of 1882.”*

It is an exhaustive report on the educational condition then prevailing in this country. The Commission wrote a detailed report giving thereby necessary suggestions to the Government to improve the methods and systems of education.

18. *History of English Education in India, by S. Mohmud.*

19. *The History and Prospects of British Education in India—Thomas.*

(B). REPORTS CONSULTED.

1. All the Punjab Educational Reports from 1857 up till date. All the figures shown in this book have been taken from these reports.

2. Rural Education by Board of Education, pamphlet No. 46.

3. Memorandum on Rural Development.

4. Occasional Reports No. 11 Rural School.

5. The Punjab Education Codes.
6. The Punjab Primary Education Act, 1919.
7. The Punjab Administration Reports, 1849-52.

8. All the circulars and memoranda issued by the Punjab Education Department from time to time.

Note.—These reports on rural education as enumerated above afford reliable and useful information to a student of the history of education in this Province. It is difficult to assign the true significance of each report for fear of lengthy description, but these reports, however, show a great deal as to the start and progress made in the Punjab.

9. Indian Statutory Commission Reports, Volume I and II.

10. Interim Report on the growth of education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission in 1928.